

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY  
CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
LIBRARY

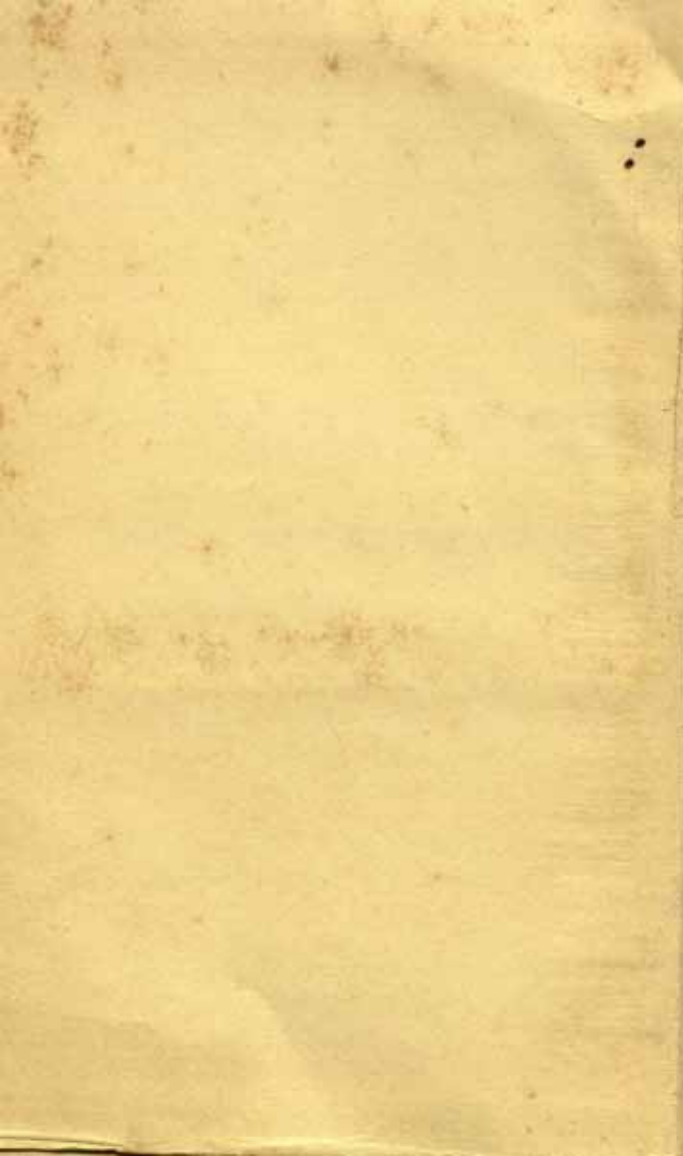
---

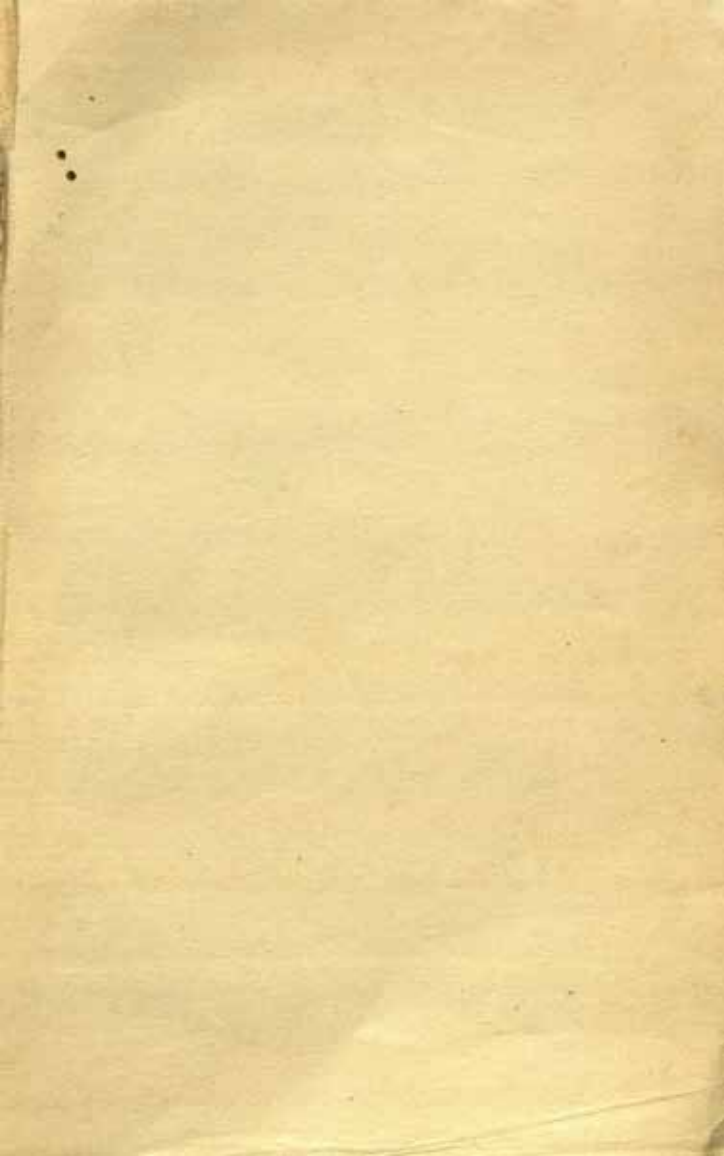
CLASS \_\_\_\_\_

CALL No. 938.03 Hex-God  
Vol. I

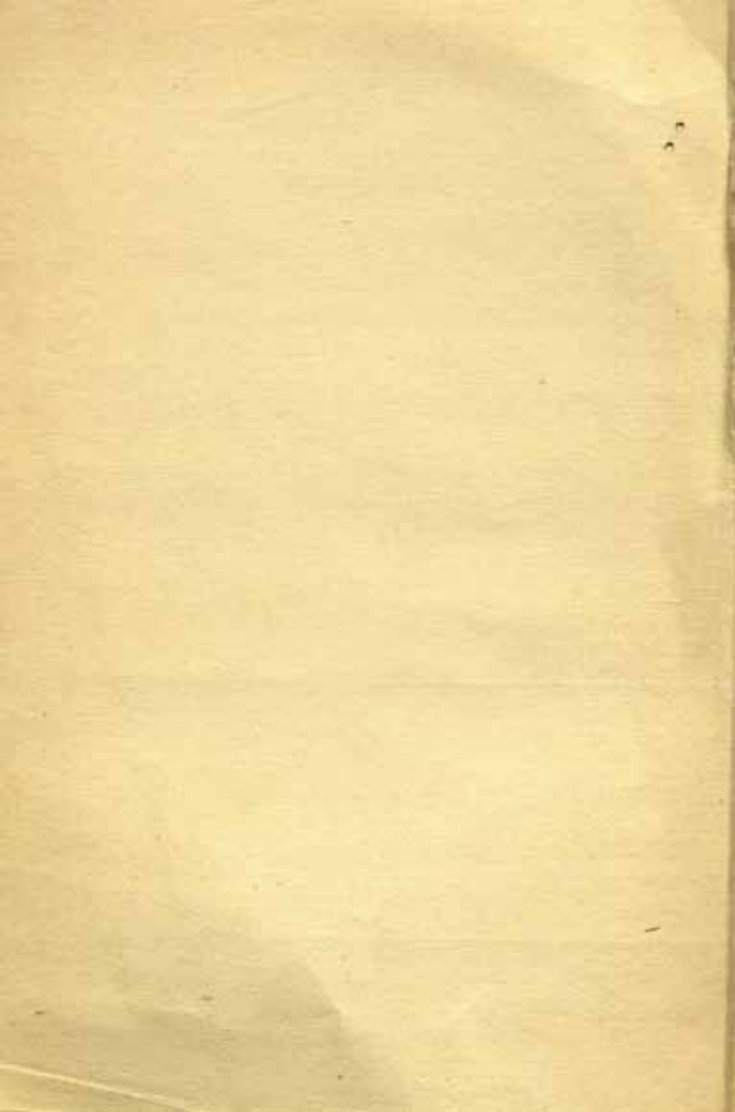
D.G.A. 79.











# THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

FOUNDED BY JAMES LOEB, LL.D.

EDITED BY

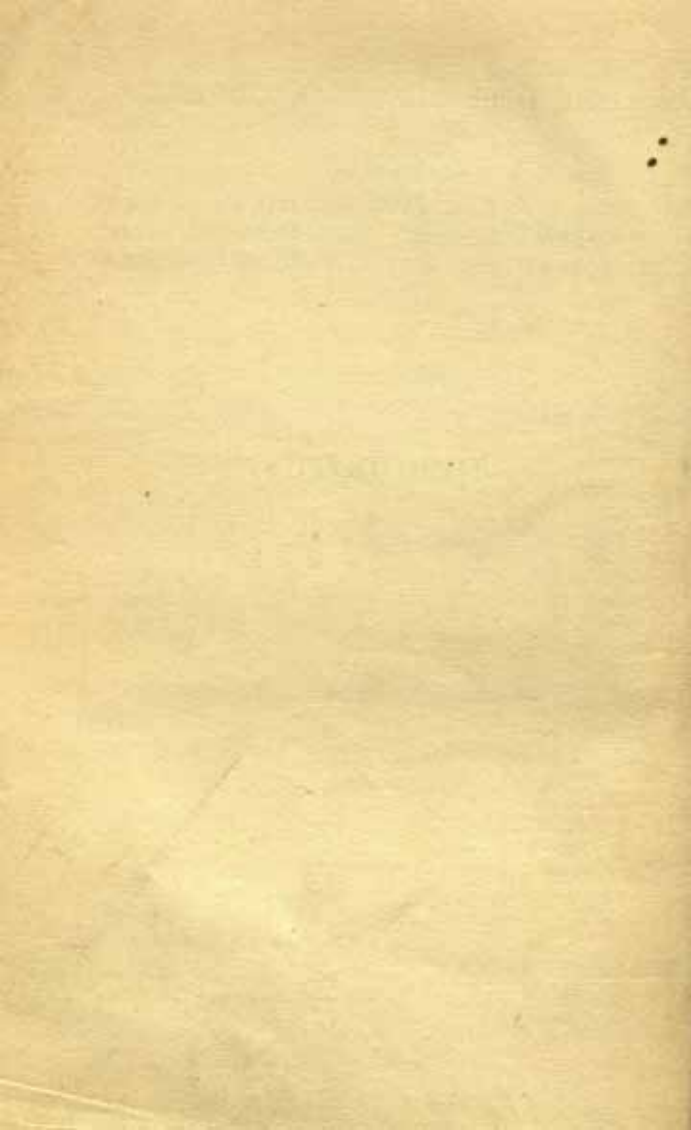
† T. E. PAGE, C.H., LITT.D.

E. CAPPS, PH.D., LL.D.      W. H. D. ROUSE, LITT.D.

L. A. POST, M.A.      E. H. WARMINGTON, M.A.

## HERODOTUS

### I



# HERODOTUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

A. D. GODLEY

HON. FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD



FOUR VOLUMES

I



BOOKS I AND II

938.03

14519

Her/God



LONDON

WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

MCMXLVI

GENERAL PAEDAGOGICAL  
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.

Acc. No. 14519

Date 25-5-1961

Call No. 938.03 / Her / God.

*First printed 1920  
Revised and Reprinted 1926, 1931, 1946*

GEN

CAL

Acc

Date

Call No.

750

13-1-57

938.03

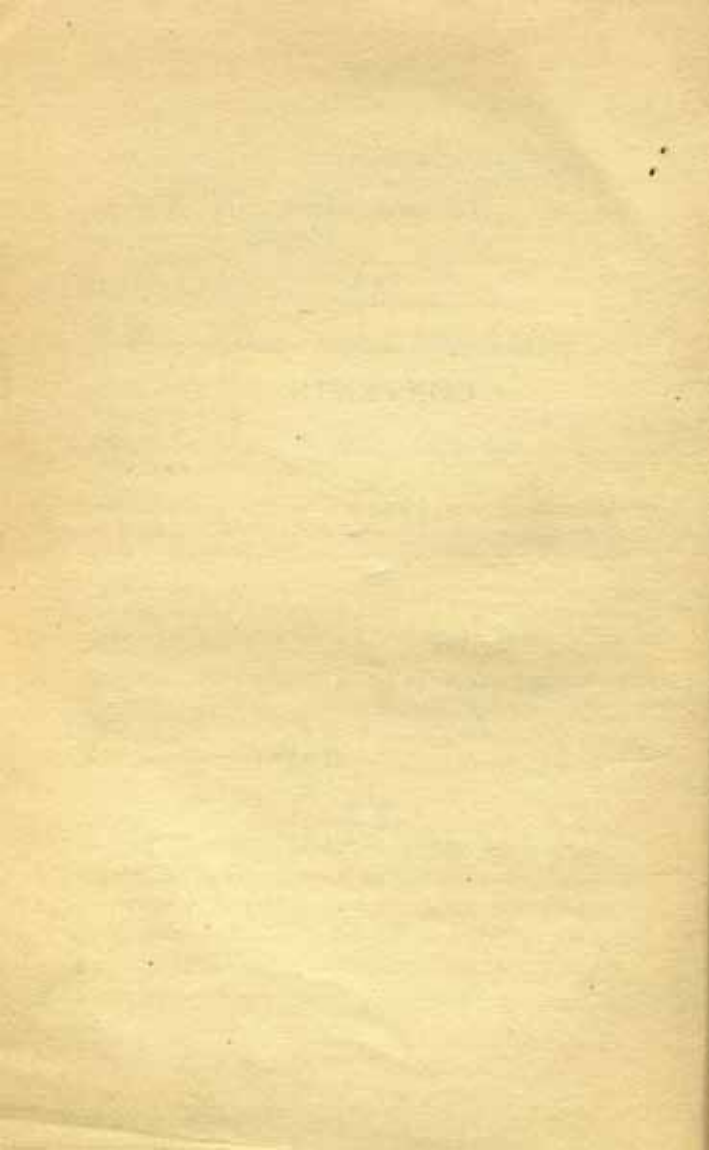
Her / God.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

# CONTENTS

GENERAL INTRODUCTION . . . . .	PAGE vii
INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I AND II . . . . .	xix
BOOK I . . . . .	1
BOOK II . . . . .	273
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES . . . . .	499
MAP—WESTERN ASIA MINOR . . . . .	<i>At end</i>

Meliponella Book Co. Delhi Rs 45/- for 4 vols  
 13-1-56.



## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### A

It is impossible to give certain and undisputed dates for the lifetime of Herodotus. But if we are to believe Aulus Gellius, he was born in 484 a.c.; and the internal evidence of his History proves that he was alive during some part of the Peloponnesian war, as he alludes to incidents which occurred in its earlier years. He may therefore be safely said to have been a contemporary of the two great wars which respectively founded and ended the brief and brilliant pre-eminence of Athens in Hellas. He belongs in the fullest sense to the "great" period of Greek history.

Herodotus was (it is agreed on all hands) a native of Halicarnassus in Caria; and if his birth fell in 484, he was born a subject of the Great King. His early life was spent, apparently, in his native town, or possibly in the island of Samos, of which he shows an intimate knowledge. Tradition asserts that after a visit to Samos he "returned to Halicarnassus and expelled the tyrant" (Lygdamis); "but when later he saw himself disliked by his countrymen, he went as a volunteer to Thurium, when it was being colonised



## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

by the Athenians. There he died and lies buried in the market-place."<sup>1</sup> This is supported by good evidence, and there seems to be no reason for doubting it. It is also stated that he visited Athens and there recited some part of his history; this may have happened, as alleged, about the year 445. It is evident from his constant allusions to Athens that he knew it well, and must have lived there.

So much may be reasonably taken as certain. Beyond it we know very little; there is a large field for conjecture, and scholars have not hesitated to expatiate in it. If Herodotus was banished from Halicarnassus for political reasons, it is probable that he was a man of some standing in his birth-place. The unquestioned fact that he travelled far makes it likely that he was well-to-do. But his history, full as it is to the brim of evidences of travel, is never (except in an occasional phrase, "I have myself seen," and the like) autobiographical; and we know nothing, from any actual statement of the historian's own, of the date of his various visits to the countries which he describes. Probably they were spread over a considerable part of his life. All that can be said is that he must have visited Egypt after 460 B.C., and may have been before that date in Scythia. Nothing else can be asserted; we only know that at some time or other Herodotus travelled not only in Greece and the Aegean, of which he obviously has personal knowledge, but also in a large part of what we call

<sup>1</sup> Suidas.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

the Near East. He saw with his own eyes much of Asia Minor; Egypt, as far south as Assuan; Cyrene and the country round it; Syria, and eastern lands perhaps as far as Mesopotamia; and the northern coast of the Black Sea. Within these limits, πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἶδεν ἄστυα καὶ νόον ἔγνω. But as the dates of his travels are unknown, so is their intention. Did he travel to collect materials for his history, its scheme being already formed? or was that history the outcome of the traveller's experiences? We only know that Herodotus' wanderings and the nine books of his narrative are mutually interwoven.

His professed object is, as he states it in the first sentence of his first book, to write the history of the Graeco-Persian war. But in order to do this he must first describe the rise of the Persian empire, to which the chapters on Lydia and the story of Croesus are introductory. When he comes in due time to relate the Persian invasion of Egypt, this is the cue for a description and history of the Nile valley, occupying the whole of the second book; and the story of Darius' subsequent expedition against Scythia leads naturally to a long digression on the geography and customs of that country. The narrative in the later books, dealing with the actual Persian invasion of Greece, is naturally less broken; but till then at least it is interrupted by constant episodes and digressions, here a chapter, there a whole book; it is the historian's practice, as he himself says, to introduce προσθήκας, additions, whenever anything even

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

remotely connected with the matter in hand occurs to him as likely to interest the reader. The net result is really a history of the Near East, and a good deal besides; a summary of popular knowledge or belief respecting recent events and the world as known more or less to the Greeks; which eventually, after branching out into countless digressions and divagations, centres in the crowning narrative of Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plataea. Tortuously, but never tediously, Herodotus' history moves to this goal. For all his discursiveness, he does not lack unity. "He is the first," it has been said, "to construct a long and elaborate narrative, in which many parts are combined in due subordination and arrangement to make one great whole."<sup>1</sup>

That a narrative so comprehensive in its nature—dealing with so great a variety of subjects, and drawn from sources so miscellaneous—should contain much which cannot be regarded as serious history, is only to be expected. It is impossible to generalise; where popular belief and ascertained fact, hearsay and ocular evidence are blended, "the historical value of the matter found in Herodotus' work varies not merely from volume to volume, or from book to book, but from paragraph to paragraph, from sentence to sentence, from line to line. Every separate story, every individual statement is to be tried on its own merits."<sup>2</sup> Many critics have not taken the trouble

<sup>1</sup> How and Wells' *Commentary on Herodotus*.

<sup>2</sup> R. W. Macan, *Herodotus IV-VI*.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

to exercise this discrimination; it was for a long time the fashion to dismiss the Father of History as a garrulous raconteur, hoping to deceive his readers as easily as he himself was deceived by his informants. This "parcel of lies" type of criticism may now, fortunately, be considered extinct. Modern research, which began by discrediting Herodotus, has with fuller knowledge come to far different conclusions. It should be now (says Dr. Macan) "universally recognised that the most stringent application of historical and critical methods to the text of Herodotus leaves the work irremovably and irreplaceably at the head of European prose literature, whether in its scientific or in its artistic character." He has been blamed for a "garrulity" which gives currency to much which is alleged to be beneath the dignity of history. But most scholars must now agree that even from the historical standpoint the world would have lost much of infinite value had Herodotus been more reticent; his "garrulity" is often proved to point the way to right conclusions.

Obviously, the condition of human beliefs and opinions falls within the field of history. Where Herodotus plainly and demonstrably errs, he is often of supreme interest as indicating contemporary thought, which he not only summarises but criticises as well. His geography and his meteorology are representative of a stage of thought. He has not arrived at truth (naturally!) but he is consistent with a current opinion which is nearer to truth than earlier con-



## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

ceptions of the world. It is true that the sun's course is not affected, as Herodotus believes it to be, by the wind. It is also true that the Danube does not rise in the Pyrenees, and that the course of the upper Nile is not from west to east.<sup>1</sup> But no one in his time knew better. He reflects and discusses contemporary opinion; he rejects earlier and more primitive ideas. It may be counted to him for righteousness that if he knows much less than Strabo, at least he knows a great deal more than Homer.

Always and everywhere, Herodotus gives us the best that is accessible to him; and it is one of his great merits as a historian that he does not give it uncritically. Scanty justice, till lately, has been done him in this matter; in reality, his manner of retailing what has been told him shows anything but credulity. Definite acceptance is much rarer than plain expressions of disbelief in what he has heard; "they say, but I do not believe it" is a very frequent introduction. This attitude is shown by the grammatical construction of the narrative—a construction which translation cannot always reproduce without awkwardness, and which is sometimes therefore overlooked altogether; the fact remains that much of the story is cast in the mould of reported speech, showing that the writer is not stating that so-and-so is a fact but only that it has been told him; and the *oratio obliqua* is maintained throughout the narrative.

<sup>1</sup> But the Bahr al Ghazal, a large branch of the Nile, does flow approximately W. to E.; and he may have meant this.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

• Herodotus deliberately professes that this is his method; ἐγὼ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γὰρ μὴν παντάπασιν οὐκ ὀφείλω (Bk. vii.); τοῖσι μὲν νυν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένοισι χράσθω ὅπως τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανά ἐστι ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑποκέεται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἐκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω (ii. 123); "I know not what the truth may be, I tell the tale as 'twas told to me." In view of these plain statements, to attack Herodotus for foolish credulity is nothing less than disingenuous.

Some harm, moreover, has been done to Herodotus' reputation by the tendency of modern languages to alter the meaning of derived words. Herodotus repeats μῦθοι. Now a μῦθος is simply a tale, with no implication of falsity; it may just as well be true as not. But when we say that Herodotus repeats *myths*, that is an altogether different matter; myth and mythical carry the implication of falsehood; and Herodotus is branded as a dupe or a liar, who cannot be taken seriously as an authority for anything.

Herodotus' reputation for untrustworthiness arises, in fact, from his professed method of giving a hearing to every opinion. This has been of great service to those who early and late have accused him of deliberate and perhaps interested falsification of historical fact. These attacks began with Plutarch; they have been more than once renewed in modern times by critics desirous of a name for originality and independence. None of them can be regarded as of any serious importance. They leave Herodotus' credit

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

untouched, for the simple reason that they are hardly ever based on solid evidence. Plutarch's treatise on Herodotus' "malignity" only establishes his own. Modern critics, who maintain that Herodotus' praise and blame is unjustly distributed, have seldom any witness to appeal to save the historian himself; and failing necessary support *ab extra*, they can only assert the *a priori* improbability that an historian who is inaccurate in one narrative should be accurate in another. It is quite possible that the heroes of the history were not so heroic and the villains not so villainous as the historian paints them; but we have no evidence as to the private life of Cyrus or Cambyses beyond what the historian himself has given us. Nor is there any justification for depreciating the services of Athens to Greece because the eulogist of Athens happened to believe that the Danube rises in the Pyrenees, and that the sun's course is affected by the wind.

It cannot be denied that Herodotus invites criticism. Plainly enough, a great deal of the evidence on which he relies must be more substantial than simple hearsay. He has undoubtedly learnt much from documents engraved or written. To take one instance, the long and detailed catalogue of the nations included in the Persian empire and the amounts of tribute paid by each must rest on some documentary authority. But he will not support his credit by producing his proofs—at least, he does so seldom; for the most part, his *fontes* are included

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

under "what he has heard"; he may have seen this, he may have read that, but it is all set down as hearsay and no more. There could be no better way of opening the door to suspicious critics. Further, some of the qualities which constitute the charm of his narrative make him suspect to those who ask only from history that it should be a plain statement of what did actually happen. Herodotus is pre-eminently biographical; personal passion and desire is the guiding motive of events; they are attributed to individual action more than to the force of circumstance. Debatable situations are described in terms of an actual debate between named champions of this or that policy,—as in Euripides, nay, as even in the comparatively matter-of-fact narrative of Thucydides. Nor is it only the human individual will which decides; it is the super-human above all. The fortunes of individuals and communities are presented to us as they appear to a Greek who sees in human life "a sphere for the realisation of Divine Judgments."<sup>1</sup> Τὸ θεῖον is always working; whether as "Nemesis" to balance good and evil fortune, and correct overweening pride and excessive prosperity by corresponding calamity, or as eternal justice to punish actual wrongdoing. Such beliefs, common to all ages, find especial prominence in the history of Herodotus, as they do in Greek tragedy. The stories of Croesus, Polycrates, Cambyzes, the fall of Troy—all are illustrations of a

<sup>1</sup> Macan, *op. cit.*



## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

divine ordering of human affairs; indeed the central subject of the story—the *débâcle* of the vast Persian expedition against Hellas—exemplifies the maxim that ὕβρις εἰ πολλῶν ὑπερπλησθῇ μάταια | ἀκρότατον εἰσαναβᾶσ' | ἀπότομον ὄρουσεν εἰς ἀνάγκαν.<sup>1</sup> History thus written is a means to moral edification; and Herodotus may not be above the suspicion of twisting the record of events so as to inculcate a moral lesson. Such predispositions make history more dramatic and more interesting; but those may be excused who hold that they militate against strict accuracy.

The dialect in which Herodotus writes is Ionic, the oldest literary dialect of Greece; but he also makes use of many words and forms which are commonly associated with the literature of Attica. When therefore Dionysius of Halicarnassus calls him τῆς Ἰάδος ἀριστος κανών, this must refer rather to his pre-eminence as an Ionian stylist than to the "purity" of his dialect; which in fact is rightly described as μεμιγμένη and ποικίλη.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Herodotus' language was affected by his residence at Athens. But Ionic and "Old Attic" appear to have been so nearly akin that it is difficult to draw a clear line of division between them. From whatever sources drawn, his diction is pervaded by an indefinable but unmistakably archaic quality which constitutes not the least of a translator's difficulties.

<sup>1</sup> Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 874-7.

<sup>2</sup> Hermogenes, *περὶ ἰδεῶν*.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### B

Among comparatively recent books the following will be of especial value to the reader of Herodotus: J. W. Blakesley's edition (text and notes); H. Stein (text and German notes); G. Rawlinson's *History of Herodotus* (translation, notes, and copious appendix); R. W. Macan's *Herodotus IV-VI and VII-IX* (text and notes); W. W. How and J. Wells' *Commentary on Herodotus* (notes and appendix); Hude's Clarendon Press edition (text and *apparatus criticus*); Grote's and Bury's *Histories of Greece*.

The text of Herodotus rests mainly on the authority of nine MSS., of which a "Laurentianus" and a "Romanus" of the tenth and eleventh centuries respectively are considered the best. The merits of all the nine MSS. and the problems which they present to an editor are fully discussed in Hude's preface to the Clarendon Press edition. The text which I have followed is that of Stein; in the few passages of any importance where I have thought fit to follow any other authority, the fact is noted. In the spelling of names I have not attempted to be consistent. I use the familiar transliteration of  $\kappa$  and  $\omicron$ , and write "Croesus" and "Cyrus," not "Kroisos" and "Kuros," only retaining terminations in  $\alpha$  where they are familiar and traditional. Where place-names have a well-known English form, not widely different from the Greek, I have kept to that; for instance, "Athens" and "Thebes," not

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

"Athenae" and "Thebae"; but I write "Carchedon"<sup>1</sup> and "Taras," not "Carthage" and "Tarentum."<sup>2</sup> This is (I trust) a reasonable, though undeniably an inconsistent, method. The scheme of the present series does not contemplate a commentary; only the briefest notes, therefore, have been added to this translation, and only where the "general reader" may be supposed to stand in urgent need of a word of explanation.

## INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I AND II

It was by their conquest of Lydia that the Persians were first brought into contact with the Greeks. Hence it is necessary to Herodotus' plan to trace the history of the line of Lydian kings which ended with Croesus; this, with many attendant digressions, occupies chapters 1-44 of Book I. On the same principle, the history of the Medes and Persians, and the early life of Cyrus himself, must be narrated (ch. 45-140). Then follows the story of Cyrus' dealings with the Greeks of Asia Minor (ch. 140-177). The rest of the book is concerned with the wars of Cyrus against the Assyrians and the Massagetae; a descriptive digression on Babylonian civilisation naturally forms a part of this section.

Cyrus, killed in battle by the Massagetae, was succeeded by his son Cambyses; and Cambyses, soon after the beginning of his reign, resolved to attack Egypt. This resolve gives the cue for Herodotus' memorable digression on the history and customs of that country.

The second book falls into two parts The first

## INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I AND II

is the portrayal of the Nile valley and its inhabitants (ch. 1-98); the second gives a history of the Egyptian kings. The whole book—a strange medley of description and conjecture, history and fable—has, in so far as it is descriptive of present things, the supreme merit of a collection of pictures drawn by an eyewitness. Herodotus' travels seem to have been mostly in Lower Egypt. But he knows also the upper valley of the Nile, and apparently has travelled as far as Assuan; his record, apart from the charm of the narrative, has an enduring interest as the earliest and for many centuries the only literary source of our knowledge of the country.

But a clear distinction must be drawn between the descriptive and the historical chapters.

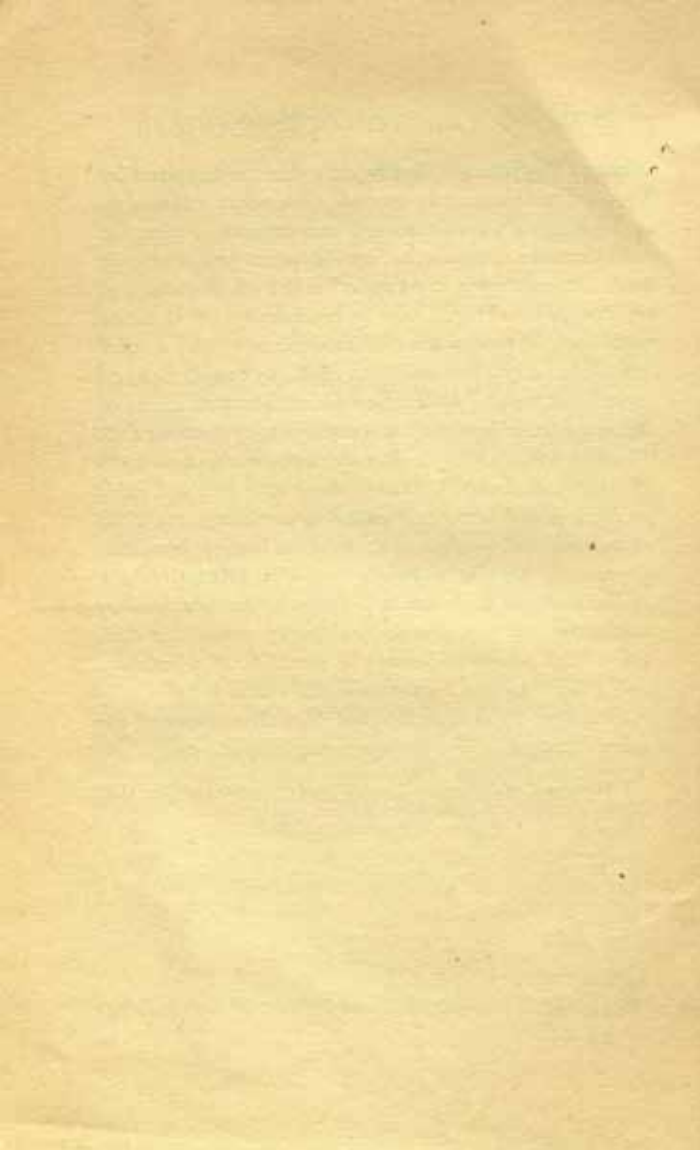
It is not likely that Herodotus is inaccurate in describing what he has seen. But, for his Egyptian chronicles, he has had to rely on what was told him, certainly through the medium of interpreters and probably in many cases by informants whose own knowledge was limited and inexact. Here, as usual, he safeguards himself against the charge of uncritical credulity by showing that he repeats the tale as told to him without guaranteeing its truth. It is very clear, however, that the impressions of history given to him are exceedingly misleading, at least for the long period before the twenty-sixth or Saïte dynasty. His chronicle is full of errors of nomenclature and chronological sequence, and is made to cover far too long a period of time. Our knowledge of the early



## INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I AND II

• Rulers of Egypt rests, firstly, on evidence supplied by Egyptian monuments; secondly, on what remains to us (though in an epitomised and imperfect form) of the chronicle of Manetho, an Egyptian priest who in the third century B.C. compiled a list of the kings of his country. Herodotus is repeatedly at variance with both these sources of information. In a brief introduction it is impossible to multiply proofs, or even to summarise the difficulties which beset students of these abstruse matters; it is enough to remember that "for Egyptian history in the strict sense chapters 99 to 146 are valueless."<sup>1</sup> These deal with the dynasties preceding 663 B.C., and covering in fact some 2700 years. Herodotus gives them a far longer duration; apparently he was shown a list of Egyptian rulers, and calculated the united lengths of their reigns by assuming one generation, or thirty years, for each king. So rough-and-ready a method of calculation could lead to no true conclusion; and it is wholly invalidated by the undoubted fact that many of the reigns named in the list were contemporaneous.

<sup>1</sup> How and Wells, *op. cit.*; the reader is referred to their Commentary for a discussion of these matters.



HERODOTUS

BOOK I



## ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

### Α

1. Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησέος ἱστορίας ἀπό-  
δεξις ἦδε, ὥς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων  
τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα  
τε καὶ θωμάστιά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβά-  
ροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τὰ τε ἄλλα  
καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

Περσέων μὲν νυν οἱ λόγιοι Φοίνικας αἰτίους  
φασὶ γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορῆς. τούτους γὰρ ἀπὸ  
τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους  
ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ οἰκήσαντας τοῦτον  
τὸν χώρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰκέουσι, αὐτίκα ναυτιλί-  
ησι μακρῇσι ἐπιθέσθαι, ἀπαγινέοντας δὲ φορτία  
Αἰγύπτια τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἐσαπικνέ-  
εσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἄργος. τὸ δὲ Ἄργος τοῦτον  
τὸν χρόνον προεῖχε ἅπασι τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι  
καλεομένη χώρῃ. ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας  
ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος τοῦτο διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον.  
πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἕκτη ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ἀπίκοντο, ἐξεμ-  
πολημένων σφι σχεδὸν πάντων, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν  
θάλασσαν γυναῖκας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ  
τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα· τὸ δὲ οἱ οὖνομα εἶναι,  
κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ τὸ καὶ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, Ἰοῦν τὴν

# HERODOTUS

## BOOK I

1. WHAT Herodotus the Halicarnassian has learnt by inquiry is here set forth: in order that so the memory of the past may not be blotted out from among men by time, and that great and marvellous deeds done by Greeks and foreigners and especially the reason why they warred against each other may not lack renown.

The Persian learned men say that the Phoenicians were the cause of the feud. These (they say) came to our seas from the sea which is called Red,<sup>1</sup> and having settled in the country which they still occupy, at once began to make long voyages. Among other places to which they carried Egyptian and Assyrian merchandise, they came to Argos, which was about that time preeminent in every way among the people of what is now called Hellas. The Phoenicians then came, as I say, to Argos, and set out their cargo. On the fifth or sixth day from their coming, their wares being now well-nigh all sold, there came to the sea shore among many other women the king's daughter, whose name (according to Persians and Greeks alike) was Io, the daughter of Inachus. They

<sup>1</sup> Not the modern Red Sea, but the Persian Gulf and adjacent waters.

## HERODOTUS

Ἰνάχου· ταύτας στάσας κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεὸς, ὠνέεσθαι τῶν φορτίων τῶν σφι ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα· καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας διακελευσαμένους ὀρμῆσαι ἐπ' αὐτάς. τὰς μὲν δὴ πλεῦνας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἰοῦν σὺν ἄλλησι ἀρπασθῆναι, ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέα οἴχεσθαι ἀποπλέοντας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου.

2. Οὕτω μὲν Ἰοῦν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι Πέρσαι, οὐκ ὥς Ἕλληνες, καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων πρῶτον τοῦτο ἄρξαι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἑλλήνων τινάς (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τοῦνομα ἀπηγήσασθαι) φασὶ τῆς Φοινίκης ἐς Τύρον προσσχόντας ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα Εὐρώπην. εἶψαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα σφι γενέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἕλληνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρης ἀδικίης γενέσθαι καταπλώσαντας γὰρ μακρῇ νηὶ ἐς Αἴαν τε τὴν Κολχίδα καὶ ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμόν, ἐνθεῦτεν, διαπρηξαμένους καὶ τᾶλλα τῶν εἵνεκεν ἀπίκατο, ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα Μηδείην. πέμψαντα δὲ τὸν Κόλχων βασιλέα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυκα αἰτέειν τε δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀπαιτέειν τὴν θυγατέρα. τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὥς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι Ἰοῦς τῆς Ἀργείης ἔδοσαν σφι δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς· οὐδὲ ὦν αὐτοὶ δώσειν ἐκείνοισι.

3. Δευτέρῃ δὲ. λέγουσι γενεῇ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμον, ἀκηκούτα ταῦτα, ἐβελῆσαι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος δι' ἀρπαγῆς γενέσθαι γυναῖκα, ἐπιστάμενον πάντως ὅτι οὐ δώσει δίκας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνους διδόναι. οὕτω δὲ ἀρπασαντος αὐτοῦ Ἑλένην, τοῖσι Ἕλλησι δόξαι πρῶ-

## BOOK I. 1-3

stood about the stern of the ship: and while they bargained for such wares as they fancied, the Phoenicians heartened each other to the deed, and rushed to take them. Most of the women escaped: Io with others was carried off; the men cast her into the ship and made sail away for Egypt.

2. This, say the Persians (but not the Greeks), was how Io came to Egypt, and this, according to them, was the first wrong that was done. Next, according to their tale, certain Greeks (they cannot tell who) landed at Tyre in Phoenice and carried off the king's daughter Europe. These Greeks must, I suppose, have been Cretans. So far, then, the account between them stood balanced. But after this (say they) it was the Greeks who were guilty of the second wrong. They sailed in a long ship to Aea of the Colchians and the river Phasis<sup>1</sup>: and when they had done the rest of the business for which they came, they carried off the king's daughter Medea. When the Colchian king sent a herald to demand reparation for the robbery, and restitution of his daughter, the Greeks replied that as they had been refused reparation for the abduction of the Argive Io, neither would they make any to the Colchians.

3. Then (so the story runs) in the second generation after this Alexandrus son of Priam, having heard this tale, was minded to win himself a wife out of Hellas by ravishment; for he was well persuaded that, as the Greeks had made no reparation, so neither would he. So he carried off Helen. The Greeks first resolved to send messengers demanding

<sup>1</sup> This is the legendary cruise of the Argonauts.



τὸν πέμψαντας ἀγγέλους ἀπαιτέειν τε Ἑλένην<sup>1</sup> καὶ δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς αἰτέειν. τοὺς δέ, προῖσχομένων ταῦτα, προσφέρειν σφί Μηδείης τὴν ἀρπαγὴν, ὥς οὐ δόντες αὐτοὶ δίκας οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαιτεόντων βουλοίατό σφι παρ' ἄλλων δίκας γίνεσθαι.

4. Μέχρι μὲν ὧν τούτου ἀρπαγὰς μούνας εἶναι παρ' ἀλλήλων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου Ἕλληνας δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι· προτέρους γὰρ ἄρξαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἢ σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. τὸ μὲν νυν ἀρπάζειν γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν ὑδίκων νομίζειν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀρπασθεισέων σπουδὴν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρέειν ἀνοήτων, τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὥρην ἔχειν ἀρπασθεισέων σωφρόνων· δηλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβούλοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἠρπάζοντο. σφέας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀρπαζομενέων τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι, Ἕλληνας δὲ Λακεδαιμονίης εἵνεκεν γυναικὸς στόλον μέγαν συναγεῖραι καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τὴν Πριάμου δύναμιν κατελεῖν. ἀπὸ τούτου αἰεὶ ἠγήσασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι πολέμιον. τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνηα βάρβαρα<sup>1</sup> οἰκηιεύνται οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἡγῆνται κεχωρίσθαι.

5. Οὕτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν εὐρίσκουσι σφίσι ἐοῦσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἔχθρης τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰούς οὐκ ὁμολογέουσι Πέρσῃσι οὕτω Φοίνικες· οὐ γὰρ ἀρπαγῇ σφέας χρησαμένους λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐν τῷ

<sup>1</sup> ἔθνηα [βάρβαρα] Stein.

# BOOK I. 3-5

that Helen should be restored and atonement made for the rape; but when this proposal was made, the Trojans pleaded the rape of Medea, and reminded the Greeks that they asked reparation of others, yet had made none themselves, nor given up the plunder at request.

4. Thus far it was a matter of mere robbery on both sides. But after this (the Persians say) the Greeks were greatly to blame; for they invaded Asia before the Persians attacked Europe. "We think," say they, "that it is wrong to carry women off: but to be zealous to avenge the rape is foolish: wise men take no account of such things: for plainly the women would never have been carried away, had not they themselves wished it. We of Asia regarded the rape of our women not at all; but the Greeks, all for the sake of a Lacedaemonian woman, mustered a great host, came to Asia, and destroyed the power of Priam. Ever since then we have regarded Greeks as our enemies." The Persians claim Asia for their own, and the foreign nations that dwell in it; Europe and the Greek race they hold to be separate from them.

5. Such is the Persian account of the matter: in their opinion, it was the taking of Troy which began their feud with the Greeks. But the Phoenicians do not tell the same story about Io as the Persians. They say that they did not carry her off to Egypt by force: she had intercourse in Argos with the captain

Αργεῖ ἐμίσγητο τῷ ναυκλήρῳ τῆς νεός· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθε ἔγκυος ἐοῦσα, αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκέας οὕτω δὴ ἐθελοντὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Φοῖνιξι συνεκπλῶσαι, ὥς ἂν μὴ κατάδηλος γένηται.

Ταῦτα μὲν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοῖνικες λέγουσι· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὥς οὕτω ἢ ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο, τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, τοῦτον σημήνας προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου, ὁμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἄσπεα ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξιῶν. τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ σμικρὰ αὐτῶν γέγονε· τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ ἦν μεγάλα, πρότερον ἦν σμικρά. τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ὦν ἐπιστάμενος εὐδαιμονίην οὐδαμὰ ἐν τῶντῳ μένουσαν, ἐπιμνήσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως.

6. Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἄλυ-  
άττεω, τύραννος δὲ ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλυος  
ποταμοῦ, ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσαμβρίας μεταξὺ Συρίων  
τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἐξιεῖ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον  
ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλεόμενον πόντον. οὗτος ὁ  
Κροῖσος βαρβάρων πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τοὺς  
μὲν κατεστρέψατο Ἑλλήνων ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν,  
τοὺς δὲ φίλους προσεποιήσατο. κατεστρέψατο  
μὲν Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ Δωριέας τοὺς ἐν  
τῇ Ἀσίῃ, φίλους δὲ προσεποιήσατο Λακεδαι-  
μονίους. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου ἀρχῆς πάντες  
Ἕλληνες ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι· τὸ γὰρ Κιμμερίων  
στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον Κροίσου  
ἐὼν πρεσβύτερον οὐ καταστροφὴ ἐγένετο τῶν  
πολίων ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγῆ.

7. Ἡ δὲ ἡγεμονία οὕτω πᾶσι ριήλθε, ἐοῦσα Ἡρα-

of the ship : then, perceiving herself to be with child, she was ashamed that her parents should know it, and so, lest they should discover her condition, she sailed away with the Phoenicians of her own accord.

These are the stories of the Persians and the Phoenicians. For my own part, I will not say that this or that story is true, but I will name him whom I myself know to have done unprovoked wrong to the Greeks, and so go forward with my history, and speak of small and great cities alike. For many states that were once great have now become small : and those that were great in my time were small formerly. Knowing therefore that human prosperity never continues in one stay, I will make mention alike of both kinds.

6. Croesus was by birth a Lydian, son of Alyattes, and monarch of all the nations west of the river Halys, which flows from the south between Syria and Paphlagonia, and issues northward into the sea called Euxinus. This Croesus was as far as we know the first foreigner who subdued Greeks and took tribute of them, and won the friendship of others,—the former being the Ionians, the Aeolians, and the Dorians of Asia, and the latter the Lacedaemonians. Before the reign of Croesus all Greeks were free: for the Cimmerian host which invaded Ionia before his time did not subdue the cities but rather raided and robbed them.

7. Now the sovereign power, which belonged to



κλειδέων, ἐς τὸ γένος τὸ Κροίσου, καλεομένους δὲ Μερμνάδας. ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Μυρσίλον ὀνομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπογόνος δὲ Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. Ἀγρων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Νίνου τοῦ Βήλου τοῦ Ἀλκαίου πρῶτος Ἡρακλειδέων βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο Σαρδίων, Κανδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρσου ὑστάτος. οἱ δὲ πρότερον Ἀγρωνος βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἦσαν ἀπογονοὶ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄττος, ἀπ' ὅτεν ὁ δῆμος Λύδιος ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος, πρότερον Μηίων καλεόμενος. παρὰ τούτων Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπιτραφέντες ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου, ἐκ δούλης τε τῆς Ἰαρδάνου γεγονότες καὶ Ἡρακλέος, ἄρξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν ἕτα πέντε τε καὶ πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσου.

8. Οὗτος δὲ ὢν ὁ Κανδαύλης ἠράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικός, ἐρασθεὶς δὲ ἐνόμιζέ οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλὸν πασέων καλλίστην. ὥστε δὲ ταῦτα νομίζων, ἦν γὰρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα, τούτῳ τῷ Γύγῃ καὶ τὰ σπουδαιέστερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπερεπαινέων. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος (χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς) ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγην τοιαύδε. "Γύγῃ, οὐ γὰρ σε δοκέω πείθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ εἶδους τῆς γυναικὸς (ὧτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι εἶντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν), ποῖεε ὅπως ἐκείνην θεήσεται γυμνήν." ὁ δ' ἀμβώσας εἶπε "δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγίεια, κελεύων με δέσποι-

The descendants of Heracles,<sup>1</sup> fell to the family of Croesus—the Mermnadae as they were called—in the following way. Candaules, whom the Greeks call Myrsilus, was the ruler of Sardis; he was descended from Alcaeus, son of Heracles; Agron, son of Ninus, son of Belus, son of Alcaeus, was the first Heraclid king of Sardis, and Candaules, son of Myrsus, was the last. The kings of this country before Agron were descendants of Lydus, son of Atys, from whom all this Lydian district took its name; before that it was called the land of the Meii. From these the Heraclidae, descendants of Heracles<sup>1</sup> and a female slave of Iardanus, received the sovereignty and held it in charge, by reason of an oracle; and they ruled for two and twenty generations, or 505 years, son succeeding father, down to Candaules, son of Myrsus.

8. This Candaules, then, fell in love with his own wife, so much that he supposed her to be by far the fairest woman in the world; and being persuaded of this, he raved of her beauty to Gyges, son of Dascylus, who was his favourite among his bodyguard; for it was to Gyges that he entrusted all his weightiest secrets. Then after a little while Candaules, being doomed to ill-fortune, spoke thus to Gyges: "I think, Gyges, that you do not believe what I tell you of the beauty of my wife; men trust their ears less than their eyes; do you, then, so contrive that you may see her naked." Gyges exclaimed loudly at this. "Master," said he, "what a pestilent command is this that you lay upon me! that I should see her who

<sup>1</sup> *Descendants of Heracles* seems to mean descended from the Asiatic sun-god identified with Heracles by the Greeks.

ναν τὴν ἐμὴν θεήσασθαι γυμνὴν; ἅμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἐν τόδε ἐστί, σκοπέειν τινὰ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων γυναικῶν καλλίστην, καὶ σέο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι ἀνόμων."

9. Ὁ μὲν δὴ λέγων τοιαῦτα ἀπεμάχετο, ἄρρωδέων μὴ τί οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν γένηται κακόν, ὃ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "θάρσσε, Γύγη, καὶ μὴ φοβεῦ μήτε ἐμέ, ὥς σέο πειρώμενος<sup>1</sup> λέγω λόγον τόνδε, μήτε γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν, μὴ τί τοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται βλάβος. ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι οὕτω ὥστε μηδὲ μαθῶν μιν ὀφθείσαν ὑπὸ σεῦ. ἐγὼ γάρ σε ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἐν τῷ κοιμώμεθα ὀπισθε τῆς ἀνοιγομένης θύρης στήσω. μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἢ ἐμὴ ἐς κοῖτον. κεῖται δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῆς ἐσόδου θρόνος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἱματίων κατὰ ἐν ἑκαστον ἐκδύνουσα θήσει, καὶ κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλὴν παρέξει τοι θεήσασθαι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείχῃ ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνὴν κατὰ νώτου τε αὐτῆς γένη, σοὶ μελέτω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ὅπως μὴ σε ὀψεται ἰόντα διὰ θυρέων."

10. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ὥς οὐκ ἐδύνατο διαφυγεῖν, ἦν ἔτοιμος· ὁ δὲ Κανδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε ὥρῃ τῆς κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγεα ἐς τὸ οἶκημα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἐσελθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τιθείσαν τὰ εἴματα ἐθῆετο ὁ Γύγης. ὥς δὲ κατὰ νώτου ἐγένετο ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδὺς ἐχώρεε ἔξω, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορεύετο μιν ἐξιόντα. μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> πειρώμενος Stein.

in my mistress naked ! with the stripping off of her tunic a woman is stripped of the honour due to her. Men have long ago made wise rules for our learning ; one of these is, that we, and none other, should see what is our own. As for me, I fully believe that your queen is the fairest of all women ; ask not lawless acts of me, I entreat you."

9. Thus speaking Gyges sought to turn the king's purpose, for he feared lest some ill to himself should come of it : but this was Candaules' answer : " Take courage, Gyges : fear not that I say this to put you to the proof, nor that my wife will do you any harm. I will so contrive the whole business that she shall never know that you have seen her. I will bring you into the chamber where she and I lie and set you behind the open door ; and after I have entered, my wife too will come to her bed. There is a chair set near the entrance of the room : on this she will lay each part of her raiment as she takes it off, and you will be able to gaze upon her at your leisure. Then, when she goes from the chair to the bed, turning her back upon you, do you look to it that she does not see you going out through the doorway."

10. As Gyges could not escape, he consented. Candaules, when he judged it to be bed time, brought Gyges into the chamber, his wife presently followed, and when she had come in and was laying aside her garments Gyges beheld her ; and when she turned her back upon him, going to her bed, he slipped privily from the room. The woman saw him as he passed out, and perceived what her husband had done. But shamed though she was she never cried



ἀνδρὸς οὔτε ἀνέβωσε αἰσχυνθεῖσα οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν, ἐν νόῳ ἔχουσα τίσεσθαι τὸν Κανδαύλεα. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροις καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνὸν ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει.

11. Τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω οὐδὲν δηλώσασα ἡσυχίην εἶχε· ὥς δὲ ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνεε, τῶν οἰκετέων τοὺς μάλιστα ὥρα πιστοὺς ἐόντας ἑαυτῇ, ἐτοίμους ποιησαμένη ἐκάλεε τὸν Γύγεια. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν δοκέων αὐτὴν τῶν πρηχθέντων ἐπίστασθαι ἤλθε καλεόμενος· ἐώθεε γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅπως ἡ βασιλεία καλέοι, φοιτᾶν. ὥς δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. “νῦν τοι δυὼν ὁδῶν παρעουσέων Γύγη δίδωμι αἵρεσιν, ὁκοτέρην βούλει τραπέσθαι. ἡ γὰρ Κανδαύλεα ἀποκτείνας ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν βασιλῆην ἔχε τὴν Λυδῶν, ἡ αὐτὸν σε αὐτίκα οὔτω ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ, ὥς ἂν μὴ πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλῃ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἴδῃς τὰ μὴ σε δεῖ. ἀλλ’ ἦτοι κεῖνόν γε τὸν ταῦτα βουλευσάντα δεῖ ἀπολλυσθαι, ἡ σὲ τὸν ἐμὲ γυμνὴν θεησάμενον καὶ ποιήσαντα οὐ νομιζόμενα.” ὁ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν ἀπεθώμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα, μετὰ δὲ ἰκέτευε μὴ μιν ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδέειν διακρίναι τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν. οὐκὼν δὴ ἔπειθε, ἀλλ’ ὥρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως προκειμένην ἢ τὸν δεσπότεα ἀπολλύναι ἢ αὐτὸν ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἀπολλυσθαι· αἰρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι. ἐπειρώτα δὴ λέγων τάδε. “ἐπεὶ με ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότεα τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνειν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα, φέρε ἀκούσω τέω καὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτῷ.” ἡ δὲ ὑπολαβούσα ἔφη “ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου ἡ ὁρμὴ ἔσται ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ ἐπεδέξατο γύμνην, ὑπνωμένῳ δὲ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἔσται.”

out nor let it be seen that she had perceived aught, for she had it in mind to punish Candaules; seeing that among the Lydians and most of the foreign peoples it is held great shame that even a man should be seen naked.

11. For the nonce she made no sign and held her peace. But as soon as it was day, she assured herself of those of her household whom she perceived to be most faithful to her, and called Gyges: who, supposing that she knew nothing of what had been done, came at call; for he had always been wont to attend the queen whenever she bade him. So when he came, the lady thus addressed him: "Now, Gyges, you have two roads before you; choose which you will follow. You must either kill Candaules and take me for your own and the throne of Lydia, or yourself be killed now without more ado; that will prevent you from obeying all Candaules' commands in the future and seeing what you should not see. One of you must die: either he, the contriver of this plot, or you, who have outraged all usage by looking on me unclad." At this Gyges stood awhile astonished: presently he entreated her not to compel him to such a choice; but when he could not move her, and saw that dire necessity was in very truth upon him either to kill his master or himself be killed by others, he chose his own life. Then he asked the queen to tell him, since she forced him against his will to slay his master, how they were to attack the king: and she replied, "You shall come at him from the same place whence he made you see me naked; attack him in his sleep."

12. Ὡς δὲ ἤρτυσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, νυκτὸς γενομένης (οὐ γὰρ ἐμετίετο ὁ Γύγης, οὐδὲ οἱ ἦν ἀπαλλαγὴ οὐδεμία, ἀλλ' ἔδεε ἡ αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι ἡ Κανδαύλεα) εἶπετο ἐς τὸν θάλαμον τῇ γυναικί, καὶ μιν ἐκείνη, ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα, κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναπαυομένου Κανδαύλεω ὑπεκδύς τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιληίην Γύγης τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη.<sup>1</sup>

13. Ἔσχε δὲ τὴν βασιληίην καὶ ἐκρατύνθη ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίου. ὥς γὰρ δὴ οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινὸν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ Κανδαύλεω πάθος καὶ ἐν ὅπλοισι ἦσαν, συνέβησαν ἐς τὸντο οἱ τε τοῦ Γύγεω στασιῶται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λυδοί, ἦν μὲν τὸ χρηστήριον ἀνέλη μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τὸν δὲ βασιλεύειν, ἦν δὲ μή, ἀποδοῦναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδας τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀνεῖλέ τε δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ ἐβασίλευσε οὕτω Γύγης. τοσόνδε μόντοι εἶπε ἡ Πυθίη, ὥς Ἡρακλείδῃσι τίσις ἦξει ἐς τὸν πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεω. τούτου τοῦ ἔπεος Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ βασιλέες αὐτῶν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεῦντο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελέσθη.

14. Τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι, Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἀναθήματα, ἔστι οἱ πλείστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι, παρέξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἀνέθηκε ἄλλον τε καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Stein brackets the words τοῦ καὶ—ἐπεμνήσθη as superfluous and therefore probably spurious.



• 12. So when they had made ready this plot, and night had fallen, Gyges followed the lady into the chamber (for he could not get free or by any means escape, but either he or Candaules must die), and she gave him a dagger and hid him behind the same door; and presently he stole out and slew Candaules as he slept, and thus made himself master of the king's wife and sovereignty. He is mentioned in the iambic verses of Archilochus of Parus who lived about the same time.

13. So he took possession of the sovereign power, and was confirmed therein by the Delphic oracle. For when the Lydians were much angered by the fate of Candaules, and took up arms, the faction of Gyges and the rest of the people came to an agreement that if the oracle should ordain him to be king of the Lydians, then he should reign: but if not, then he should render back the kingship to the Heraclidae. The oracle did so ordain: and Gyges thus became king. Howbeit the Pythian priestess declared that the Heraclidae should have vengeance on Gyges' posterity in the fifth generation: an utterance of which the Lydians and their kings took no account, till it was fulfilled.

14. Thus did the Mermnadae rob the Heraclidae of the sovereignty and take it for themselves. Having gained it, Gyges sent not a few offerings to Delphi: there are very many silver offerings of his there: and besides the silver, he dedicated great store of

τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν ἐστί, κρητῆρες οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἐξ χρύσειοι ἀνακέαται. ἐστᾶσι δὲ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα· ἀληθεί δὲ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστὶ ὁ θησαυρός, ἀλλὰ Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἡετίωνος. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφούς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδῖεω Φρυγίης βασιλέα. ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, εἶντα ἀξιοθέητον· κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἔνθα περ οἱ τοῦ Γύγεω κρητῆρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος τὸν ὁ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλέεται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην.

15. Ἐσέβαλε μὲν νυν στρατιὴν καὶ οὗτος ἐπεῖτε ἦρξε ἐς τε Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ Κολοφῶνος τὸ ἄστυ εἶλε· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ μέγα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ἔργον ἐγένετο βασιλεύσαντος δυῶν δέοντα τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα, τοῦτον μὲν παρήσομεν τοσαῦτα ἐπιμνησθέντες, Ἄρδυος δὲ τοῦ Γύγεω μετὰ Γύγην βασιλεύσαντος μνήμην ποιήσομαι. οὗτος δὲ Πριηνέας τε εἶλε ἐς Μίλητόν τε ἐσέβαλε, ἐπὶ τούτου τε τυραννεύοντος Σαρδίων Κιμμέριοι ἐξ ἡθέων ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων ἐξαναστάντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ Σάρδις πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος εἶλον.

16. Ἄρδυος δὲ βασιλεύσαντος ἐνὸς δέοντα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα ἐξεδέξατο Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος, καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ἔτεα δυῶδεκα, Σαδυάττew δὲ Ἀλυάττης. οὗτος δὲ Κναξάρη τε τῷ Δηϊόκεω ἀπογόνῳ ἐπολέμησε καὶ Μηδοῖσι, Κιμμερίους τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐξήλασε, Σμύρνην τε τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφῶνος

gold: among which six golden bowls are the offerings chiefly worthy of record. These weigh 30 talents<sup>1</sup> and stand in the treasury<sup>2</sup> of the Corinthians: though in very truth it is the treasury not of the Corinthian people but of Cypselus son of Ection. This Gyges then was the first foreigner (of our knowledge) who placed offerings at Delphi after the king of Phrygia, Midas son of Gordias. For Midas too made an offering, to wit, the royal seat whereon he sat to give judgment, and a marvellous seat it is; it is set in the same place as the bowls of Gyges. This gold and the silver offered by Gyges is called by the Delphians "Gygian" after its dedicator.

15. As soon as Gyges came to the throne, he too, like others, led an army into the lands of Miletus and Smyrna; and he took the city of Colophon. But he did nothing else great in his reign of thirty-eight years; I will therefore say no more of him, and will speak rather of Ardys the son of Gyges, who succeeded him. He took Priene and invaded the country of Miletus; and it was while he was monarch of Sardis that the Cimmerians, driven from their homes by the nomad Scythians, came into Asia, and took Sardis, all but the citadel.

16. Ardys reigned for forty-nine years, and was succeeded by his son Sadyattes, who reigned for twelve years; and after Sadyattes came Alyattes, who waged war against Deioeces' descendant Cyaxares and the Medes, drove the Cimmerians out of Asia, took Smyrna (which was a colony from Colophon),

<sup>1</sup> The "Attic" talent had a weight of about 58 lbs. avoirdupois, the "Aeginetan" of about 82.

<sup>2</sup> Many Greek states had special "treasuries" allotted to them in the temple precincts at Delphi, in which their offerings were deposited.

κτισθεῖσαν εἶλε, ἐς Κλαζομενάς τε ἐσέβαλε. ἀπὸ μὲν νυν τούτων οὐκ ὥς ἤθελε ἀπήλλαξε, ἀλλὰ προσπταίσας μεγάλως· ἄλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο ἔων ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀξιαπηγητότατα τάδε.

17. Ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοισι, παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἐπελαύνων γὰρ ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Μίλητον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ὅκως μὲν εἴη ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἄδρός, τηνικαῦτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν στρατιήν· ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικείου τε καὶ ἀνδρηίου. ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην ἀπίκοιτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οὔτε κατέβαλλε οὔτε ἐνεπίμπρη οὔτε θύρας ἀπέσπα, ἕα δὲ κατὰ χώρην ἐστάναι· ὁ δὲ τὰ τε δένδρεα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅκως διαφθείρειε, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω. τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεον, ὥστε ἐπέδρης μὴ εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατιῇ. τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέβαλλε ὁ Λυδὸς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅκως ἔχοιεν ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμώμενοι τὴν γῆν σπείρειν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οἱ Μιλήσιοι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκείνων ἐργαζομένων ἔχοι τι καὶ σίνεσθαι ἐσβάλλων.

18. Ταῦτα ποιέων ἐπολέμεε ἕτεα ἔνδεκα, ἐν τοῖσι τρώματα μεγάλα διφάσια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο, ἐν τε Λιμενηίῳ χώρῃ τῆς σφετέρῃς μαχεσαμένων καὶ ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ. τὰ μὲν νυν ἔξ ἕτεα τῶν ἔνδεκα Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος ἔτι Λυδῶν ἦρχε, ὁ καὶ ἐσβάλλων τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην τὴν στρατιήν· Σαδυάττης οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἦν συνάψας· τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἐτέων τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖσι ἔξ Ἀλυάττης ὁ Σαδυάττεω ἐπολέμεε, ὃς παραδεξάμενος, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, παρὰ τοῦ πατρός τὸν πόλεμον προσεῖχε ἐντετα-



and invaded the lands of Clazomenae. But here he came off not at all as he wished, but with great disaster. Of other deeds done by him in his reign these were most notable:

17. He continued the war against the Milesians which his father had begun. This was the manner in which he attacked and laid siege to Miletus: he sent his invading army, marching to the sound of pipes and harps and flutes bass and treble, when the crops in the land were ripe: and whenever he came to the Milesian territory, the country dwellings he neither demolished nor burnt nor tore off their doors, but let them stand unharmed; but the trees and the crops of the land he destroyed, and so returned whence he came; for as the Milesians had command of the sea, it was of no avail for his army to besiege their city. The reason why the Lydian did not destroy the houses was this—that the Milesians might have homes whence to plant and cultivate their land, and that there might be the fruit of their toil for his invading army to lay waste.

18. In this manner he waged war for eleven years, and in these years two great disasters befel the Milesians, one at the battle of Limeneion in their own territory, and the other in the valley of the Maeander. For six of these eleven years Sadyattes son of Ardys was still ruler of Lydia, and he it was who invaded the lands of Miletus, for it was he who had begun the war; for the following five the war was waged by Sadyattes' son Alyattes, who, as I have before shown, inherited the war from his father and carried



μένως. τοῖσι δὲ Μιλησίοισι οὐδαμοὶ Ἰώνων τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον συνεπελάφρυνον ὅτι μὴ Χίοι μῶροι. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ ὅμοιον ἀνταποδιδόντες ἐτιμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῖσι Χίοισι τὸν πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν.

19. Τῷ δὲ δυωδεκάτῳ ἔτει ληίου ἐμπιπραμένου ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς συνηνείχθη τι τοιόνδε γενέσθαι πρῆγμα· ὥς ἄφθῃ τάχιστα τὸ λήιον, ἀνέμῳ βιώμενον ἄψατο νηοῦ Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀσσησίης, ἀφθείς δὲ ὁ νηὸς κατεκαύθη. καὶ τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο, μετὰ δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπικομένης ἐς Σάρδεις ἐνόσησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης. μακροτέρης δὲ οἱ γινομένης τῆς νόσου πέμπει ἐς Δελφούς θεοπρόπους, εἴτε δὴ συμβουλεύσαντός τευ, εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἔδοξε πέμψαντα τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρέσθαι περὶ τῆς νόσου. τοῖσι δὲ ἡ Πυθίη ἀπικομένοισι ἐς Δελφούς οὐκ ἔφη χρήσειν πρὶν ἢ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἀνορθώσωσι, τὸν ἐνέπρησαν χώρας τῆς Μιλησίης ἐν Ἀσσησῷ.

20. Δελφῶν οἶδα ἐγὼ οὕτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι Μιλήσιοι δὲ τάδε προστιθεῖσι τούτοις, Περίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου ἐόντα Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεύοντι ξεῖνον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, πυθόμενον τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τῷ Ἀλυάττῃ γινόμενον, πέμψαντα ἄγγελον κατεπειν, ὅπως ἂν τι προειδὼς πρὸς τὸ παρεὸν βουλευῇται.

21. Μιλήσιοι μὲν νυν οὕτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι. Ἀλυάττης δέ, ὥς οἱ ταῦτα ἐξαγγέλθη, αὐτίκα ἔπεμπε κήρυκα ἐς Μίλητον βουλόμενος σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι Θρασυβούλῳ τε καὶ Μιλησίοισι χρόνον ὅσον ἂν τὸν νηὸν οἰκοδομήῃ. ὁ μὲν δὴ

It on vigorously. None of the Ionians helped to lighten this war for the Milesians, except only the Chians: these lent their aid for a like service done to themselves; for the Milesians had formerly helped the Chians in their war against the Erythraeans.

19. In the twelfth year, when the Lydian army was burning the crops, it so happened that the fire set to the crops and blown by a strong wind caught the temple of Athene called Athene of Assesos<sup>1</sup>: and the temple was burnt to the ground. For the nonce no account was taken of this. But presently after the army had returned to Sardis Alyattes fell sick; and, his sickness lasting longer than it should, he sent to Delphi to inquire of the oracle, either by someone's counsel or by his own wish to question the god about his sickness: but when the messengers came to Delphi the Pythian priestess would not reply to them before they should restore the temple of Athene at Assesos in the Milesian territory, which they had burnt.

20. Thus far I know the truth, for the Delphians told me. The Milesians add to the story, that Periander son of Cypselus, being a close friend of Thrasybulus who then was sovereign of Miletus, learnt what reply the oracle had given to Alyattes and sent a despatch to tell Thrasybulus, so that thereby his friend should be forewarned and make his plans accordingly.

21. Such is the Milesian story. Then, when the Delphic reply was brought to Alyattes, straightway he sent a herald to Miletus, offering to make a truce with Thrasybulus and the Milesians during his building of the temple. So the envoy went to

<sup>1</sup> A small town or village near Miletus.

ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν, Θρασύβουλος δὲ σαφέως προπεπυσμένος πάντα λόγον, καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ Ἀλυάττης μέλλοι ποιήσῃν, μηχανᾷται τοιάδε· ὅσος ἦν ἐν τῷ ἄστει σῖτος καὶ ἐώντου καὶ ἰδιωτικός, τοῦτον πάντα συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν προεῖπε Μιλησίοισι, ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς σημήνῃ, τότε πίνειν τε πάντας καὶ κώμῳ χρᾶσθαι ἐς ἀλλήλους.

22. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίεε τε καὶ προηγόρευε Θρασύβουλος τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν δὴ ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς ἰδὼν τε σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι ἑόντας ἀγγείλῃ Ἀλυάττῃ· τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἰδὼν τε ἐκεῖνα ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ εἰπας πρὸς Θρασύβουλον τοῦ Λυδοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐγένετο ἢ διαλλαγή. ἐλπίζων γὰρ ὁ Ἀλυάττης σιτοδείην τε εἶναι ἰσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ τὸν λεὼν τετρῦσθαι ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ, ἤκουε τοῦ κήρυκος νοστήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους ἢ ὥς αὐτὸς κατεδόκει. μετὰ δὲ ἢ τε διαλλαγή σφί ἐγένετο ἐπ' ᾧ τε ξείνους ἀλλήλοισι εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ δύο τε ἀντὶ ἑνὸς νηοὺς τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ οἰκοδόμησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐν τῇ Ἀσσησῷ, αὐτὸς τε ἐκ τῆς νούσου ἀνέστη. κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πόλεμον Ἀλυάττῃ ὧδε ἔσχε.

23. Περίανδρος δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς, οὗτος ὁ τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας· ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος Κορίνθου· τῷ δὴ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ὁμολογοῦνσι δὲ σφί Λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θῶμα μέγιστον παραστήναι, Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον,

- Miletus. But Thrasybulus, being exactly forewarned of the whole matter, and knowing what Alyattes meant to do, devised the following plan: he brought together into the market place all the food in the city, from private stores and his own, and bade the men of Miletus all drink and revel together when he should give the word.

22. The intent of his so doing and commanding was, that when the herald from Sardis saw a great heap of food piled up, and the citizens making merry, he might bring word of it to Alyattes: and so it befell. The herald saw all this, gave Thrasybulus the message he was charged by the Lydian to deliver, and returned to Sardis; and this, as far as I can learn, was the single reason of the reconciliation. For Alyattes had supposed that there was great scarcity in Miletus and that the people were reduced to the last extremity of misery; but now on his herald's return from the town he heard an account contrary to his expectations; so presently the Lydians and Milesians ended the war and agreed to be friends and allies, and Alyattes built not one but two temples of Athene at Assesos, and recovered of his sickness. Such is the story of Alyattes' war against Thrasybulus and the Milesians.

23. Periander, who disclosed the oracle's answer to Thrasybulus, was the son of Cypselus, and sovereign lord of Corinth. As the Corinthians and Lesbians agree in relating, there happened to him a thing which was the most marvellous in his life, namely, the landing of Arion of Methymna on Taenarus, borne thither by a dolphin. This Arion was a



έόντα καθαρωδὸν τῶν τότε έόντων οὐδενὸς δεύ-  
τερον, καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν  
ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ  
διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

24. Τοῦτον τὸν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι, τὸν πολλὸν  
τοῦ χρόνου διατρίβοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ ἐπιθυ-  
μῆσαι πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰταλίην τε καὶ Σικελίην, ἐργα-  
σάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα θελῆσαι ὀπίσω ἐς  
Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι. ὁρμᾶσθαι μὲν νυν ἐκ Τάραν-  
τος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοῖσι μᾶλλον ἢ Κορινθίοισι  
μισθώσασθαι πλοῖον ἀνδρῶν Κορινθίων. τοὺς δὲ  
ἐν τῷ πελάγῃ ἐπιβουλεύειν τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐκβα-  
λόντας ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα. τὸν δὲ συνέντα τοῦτο  
λίσσεσθαι, χρήματα μὲν σφί προίεντα, ψυχὴν δὲ  
παραιτεόμενον. οὐκων δὴ πείθειν αὐτὸν τούτοισι,  
ἀλλὰ κελεύειν τοὺς πορθμέας ἢ αὐτὸν διαχρᾶσθαί  
μιν, ὥς ἂν ταφῆς ἐν γῇ τύχῃ, ἢ ἐκπηδᾷ ἐς τὴν  
θάλασσαν τὴν ταχίστην· ἀπειληθέντα δὴ τὸν  
Ἀρίονα ἐς ἀπορίην παραιτήσασθαι, ἐπειδὴ σφί  
οὕτω δοκέοι, περιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ  
στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοισι αἰεῖσαι· αἰείσας δὲ  
ὑπέδέκετο ἑωυτὸν κατεργάσασθαι. καὶ τοῖσι  
ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ἡδονὴν εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ  
ἀρίστου ἀνθρώπων αἰδοῦ, ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς  
πρύμνης ἐς μέσσην νέα. τὸν δὲ ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν  
τὴν σκευὴν καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιθάρην, στάντα ἐν  
τοῖσι ἐδωλίοισι διεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν ὀρθιον, τελευ-  
τῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου ῥίψαί μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν  
ἑωυτὸν ὥς εἶχε σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν  
ἀποπλέειν ἐς Κόρινθον, τὸν δὲ δελφῖνα λέγουσι  
ὑπολαβόντα ἐξενεῖκαι ἐπὶ Ταίναρον. ἀποβάντα



lyre-player second to none in that age; he was the first man, as far as we know, to compose and name the dithyramb<sup>1</sup> which he afterwards taught at Corinth.

24. Thus then, the story runs: for the most part he lived at the court of Periander; then he formed the plan of voyaging to Italy and Sicily, whence, after earning much money, he was minded to return to Corinth. Having especial trust in men of that city, he hired a Corinthian ship to carry him from Taras.<sup>2</sup> But when they were out at sea, the crew plotted to cast Arion overboard and take his money. Discovering the plot, he earnestly entreated them, offering them all his money if they would but spare his life; but the sailors would not listen to him; he must, they said, either kill himself and so receive burial on land, or straightway cast himself into the sea. In this extremity Arion besought them, seeing that such was their will, that they would suffer him to stand on the poop with all his singing robes about him and sing; and after his song, so he promised, he would make away with himself. The men, well pleased at the thought of hearing the best singer in the world, drew away from the stern amidships; Arion, putting on all his adornment and taking his lyre, stood up on the poop and sang the "Shrill Strain,"<sup>3</sup> and at its close threw himself without more ado into the sea, clad in his robes. So the crew sailed away to Corinth; but a dolphin (so the story goes) took Arion on his back and bore him to Taenarus. There he

<sup>1</sup> The dithyramb was a kind of dance-music particularly associated with the cult of Dionysus.

<sup>2</sup> Tarentum.

<sup>3</sup> The *ὑψηλὸν νόμος* was a high-pitched (and apparently very well-known) song or hymn in honour of Apollo.

δὲ αὐτὸν χωρέειν εἰς Κόρινθον σὺν τῇ σκευῇ, καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἀπηγγέσθαι πᾶν τὸ γεγονός. Περί-  
 ανδρον δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας Ἀρίονα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ  
 ἔχειν οὐδαμῇ μετιέντα, ἀνακῶς δὲ ἔχειν τῶν  
 πορθμέων. ὥς δὲ ἄρα παρῆναι αὐτούς, κλη-  
 θέντας ἱστορέεσθαι εἴ τι λέγοιεν περὶ Ἀρίονος.  
 φαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ὥς εἴη τε σῶς περὶ Ἰταλίην  
 καὶ μιν εὖ πρήσσοντα λίποιεν ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπι-  
 φανῆναί σφι τὸν Ἀρίονα ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπῆδησε  
 καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλαγέντας οὐκ ἔχειν ἔτι ἐλεγχομένους  
 ἀρνέεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν νυν Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ  
 Δέσβιοι λέγουσι, καὶ Ἀρίονος ἐστὶ ἀνάθημα  
 χάλκεον οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ, ἐπὶ δελφῖνος  
 ἐπέων ἄνθρωπος.

25. Ἀλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους  
 πόλεμον διενείκας μετέπειτα τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας  
 ἕτεα ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐκφυγῶν  
 τὴν νοῦσον δεύτερος οὗτος τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης εἰς  
 Δελφοὺς κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν καὶ ὑποκρη-  
 τηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητόν, θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάν-  
 των τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθημάτων, Γλαύκου τοῦ  
 Χίου ποίημα, ὃς μῦθος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων  
 σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἐξεῦρε.

26. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλυάττεω ἐξεδέξατο  
 τὴν βασιληίην Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω, ἐτέων ἑὼν  
 ἡλικίην πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα· ὃς δὴ Ἑλλήνων  
 πρώτοισι ἐπεθήκατο Ἑφεσίοισι. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ  
 Ἑφέσιοι πολιορκεόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνέθεσαν τὴν  
 πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἐξάψαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ  
 σχοινίον εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. ἔστι δὲ μεταξὺ τῆς τε  
 παλαιῆς πόλιος, ἣ τότε ἐπολιορκέετο, καὶ τοῦ  
 νηοῦ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι. πρώτοισι μὲν δὴ τούτοις

landed, went to Corinth in his singing robes, and when he came told all that had befallen him. Perianther, not believing the tale, put him in close ward and kept careful watch for the coming of the sailors. When they came they were called and questioned, what news they brought of Arion, and they replied that he was safe in the parts of Italy, and that they had left him sound and well at Taras: when, behold, they were confronted with Arion, just as he was when he leapt from the ship; whereat they were amazed, and could no more deny what was proved against them. Such is the story told by the Corinthians and Lesbians. There is moreover a little bronze monument to Arion on Taenarus, the figure of a man riding upon a dolphin.

25. So Alyattes the Lydian, having finished his war with the Milesians, died after a reign of fifty-seven years. He was the second of his family to make an offering to Delphi—and this was a thank-offering for his recovery—of a great silver bowl on a stand of welded iron. This is the most notable among all the offerings at Delphi, and is the work of Glaucus the Chian, the only man of that age who discovered how to weld iron.

26. After the death of Alyattes Croesus his son came to the throne,<sup>1</sup> being then thirty-five years of age. The first Greeks whom he attacked were the Ephesians. These, being besieged by him, dedicated their city to Artemis; this they did by attaching a rope to the city wall from the temple of the goddess, standing seven furlongs away from the ancient city, which was then being besieged. These

<sup>1</sup> Croesus' reign began in 560 B.C., probably.

ἐπεχείρησε ὁ Κροῖσος, μετὰ δὲ ἐν μέρει ἐκάστοισι Ἰώνων τε καὶ Αἰολέων, ἄλλοισι ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων, τῶν μὲν ἐδύνατο μέζονας παρευρίσκειν, μέζονα ἐπαιτιώμενος, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φαῦλα ἐπιφέρων.

27. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἕλληνες κατεστράφατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπενόεε νέας ποιησάμενος ἐπιχειρέειν τοῖσι νησιώτησι. ἐόντων δὲ οἱ πάντων ἐτοιμῶν ἐς τὴν ναυπηγίην, οἱ μὲν Βίαντα λέγουσι τὸν Πριηνέα ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδεις, οἱ δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, εἰρομένου Κροῖσου εἴ τι εἴη νεώτερον περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰπόντα τάδε καταπαῦσαι τὴν ναυπηγίην. "ὦ βασιλεῦ, νησιῶται ἵππον συνωvéονται μυρίην, ἐς Σάρδεις τε καὶ ἐπὶ σέ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες στρατεύεσθαι." Κροῖσον δὲ ἐλπίσαντα λέγειν ἐκεῖνον ἀληθέα εἰπεῖν "Αἱ γὰρ τοῦτο θεοὶ ποιήσειαν ἐπὶ νόον νησιώτησι, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Λυδῶν παῖδας σὺν ἵπποισι." τὸν δὲ ὑπολαβόντα φάναι "ὦ βασιλεῦ, προθύμως μοι φαίνεαι εὖξασθαι νησιώτας ἱππευομένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἡπείρῳ, οἰκότα ἐλπίζων. νησιώτας δὲ τί δοκέεις εὖχεσθαι ἄλλο ἢ, ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντό σε μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσι ναυπηγέεσθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἀρώμενοι Λυδοὺς ἐν θαλάσῃ, ἵνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ οἰκημένων Ἑλλήνων τίσωνταί σε, τοὺς σὺ δουλώσας ἔχεις;" κάρτα τε ἡσθῆναι Κροῖσον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ καὶ οἱ, προσφύεως γὰρ δόξαι λέγειν, πειθόμενον παύσασθαι τῆς ναυπηγίης. καὶ οὕτω τοῖσι τὰς νήσους οἰκημένοισι Ἰῶσι ξεινίην συνεθήκατο.

28. Χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγινομένου καὶ κατεστραμ-



were the first whom Croesus attacked; afterwards he made war on the Ionian and Aeolian cities in turn, each on its separate indictment: he found graver charges where he could, but sometimes alleged very paltry grounds of offence.

27. Then, when he had subdued and made tributary to himself all the Asiatic Greeks of the mainland, he planned to build ships and attack the islanders; but when his preparations for shipbuilding were ready, either Bias of Priene or Pittacus of Mytilene (the story is told of both) came to Sardis, and being asked by Croesus for news about Hellas, put an end to the shipbuilding by giving the following answer: "King, the islanders are buying ten thousand horse, with intent to march against you to Sardis." Croesus, thinking that he spoke the truth, said: "Would that the gods may put it in the minds of the island men to come on horseback against the sons of the Lydians!" Then the other answered and said: "King, I see that you earnestly pray that you may catch the islanders riding horses on the mainland, and what you expect is but natural. And the islanders, now they have heard that you are building ships to attack them therewith, think you that they pray for aught else than that they may catch Lydians on the seas, and thereby be avenged on you for having enslaved the Greeks who dwell on the mainland?" Croesus was well pleased with this conclusion, for it seemed to him that the man spoke but reasonably; so he took the advice and built no more ships. Thus it came about that he made friends of the Ionian islanders.

28. As time went on, Croesus subdued well-nigh



μένων σχεδὸν πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς "Αλυος ποταμοῦ οἰκημένων· πλὴν γὰρ Κιλικίων καὶ Λυκίων τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ εἶχε καταστρεψάμενος ὁ Κροῖσος. εἰσὶ δὲ οἶδε, Λυδοί, Φρύγες, Μυσοί, Μαριανδυνοί, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Θρήικες οἱ Θυνοί τε καὶ Βιθυνοί, Κᾶρες, Ἴωνες, Δωριέες, Αἰολέες, Πάμφυλοι<sup>1</sup> κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροίσου Λυδοῖσι, 29. ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταί, οἱ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτύγγανον ἔοντες, ὥς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοιτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύσασι ποιήσας ἀπεδήμησε ἕτεα δέκα, κατὰ θεωρίας πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μή τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ λῦσαι τῶν ἔθετο. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναῖοι· ὀρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι κατείχοντο δέκα ἕτεα χρήσεσθαι νόμοισι τοὺς ἄν σφι Σόλων θῆται.

30. Αὐτῶν δὴ ὧν τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίας ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἵνεκεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκητο παρὰ Ἀμασιν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδεις παρὰ Κροίσου. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐξεινίζετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιλεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κροίσου· μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρῃ τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ κελεύσαντος Κροίσου τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περιῆγον κατὰ τοὺς θησαυρούς, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυσαν πάντα ἔοντα μεγάλα τε καὶ ὀλβια. θεησάμενον δὲ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον ὥς οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν, εἶρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε. "Ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, παρ' ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπίκται

<sup>1</sup> εἰσὶ . . . Πάμφυλοι and καὶ . . . Λυδοῖσι bracketed by Stein.

all the nations west of the Halys and held them in subjection, except only the Cilicians and Lycians: the rest, Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynians, Chalybes, Paphlagonians, Thymians and Bithynians (who are Thracians), Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Aeolians, Pamphylians, were subdued and became subjects of Croesus like the Lydians, and Sardis was at the height of its wealth. 29. There came to the city all the teachers from Hellas who then lived, in this or that manner; and among them came Solon of Athens: he, having made laws for the Athenians at their request, left his home for ten years and set out on a voyage to see the world, as he said. This he did, lest he should be compelled to repeal any of the laws he had made, since the Athenians themselves could not repeal them, for they were bound by solemn oaths to abide for ten years by such laws as Solon should make.

30. For this reason, and to see the world, Solon left Athens and visited Amasis in Egypt and Croesus at Sardis: and when he had come, Croesus entertained him in his palace. Now on the third or fourth day after his coming Croesus bade his servants lead Solon round among his treasures, and they showed him all that was there, the greatness and the prosperous state of it; and when he had seen and considered all, Croesus when occasion served thus questioned him: "Our Athenian guest, we have heard much of

πολλὸς καὶ σοφίης εἵνεκεν<sup>1</sup> τῆς σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ὡς φιλοσοφέων γῆν πολλὴν θεωρίας εἵνεκεν ἐπελήλυθας· νῦν ὦν ἐπειρέσθαι με ἡμερος ἐπῆλθέ σε εἰ τινα ἤδη πάντων εἶδες ὀλβιώτατον." ὁ μὲν ἐλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώτατος ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα· Σόλων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔοντι χρησάμενος λέγει "ὦ βασιλεῦ, Τέλλον Ἀθηναῖον." ἀποθωμάσας δὲ Κροῖσος τὸ λεχθὲν εἶρετο ἐπιστρεφέως "Κοίη δὴ κρίνεις Τέλλον εἶναι ὀλβιώτατον;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Τέλλον τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πόλιος εὐ ἡκούσης παῖδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε καὶ ἀγαθοί, καὶ σφί εἶδε ἅπασι τέκνα ἐκγενόμενα καὶ πάντα παραμείναντα· τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ βίου εὐ ἤκοντι, ὡς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτη ἐπεγένετο· γενομένης γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα, καὶ μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῇ περ ἔπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως."

31. Ὡς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν Κροῖσον εἶπας πολλά τε καὶ ὀλβια, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον μετ' ἐκείνον ἴδοι, δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οἴσεσθαι. ὁ δ' εἶπε "Κλέοβῖν τε καὶ Βίτωνα. τούτοις γὰρ εὐοῦσι γένος Ἀργείοισι βίος τε ἀρκέων ὑπὴν, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ ῥώμῃ σώματος τοιήδε· ἀεθλοφόροι τε ἀμφοτέρω ὁμοίως ἦσαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος. εὐοῦσης ὀρθῆς τῇ Ἡρῇ τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι ἔδεε πάντως τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν ζεύγεϊ κομισθῆναι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν, οἱ δὲ σφί βόες ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὐ παρεγίνοντο ἐν ὥρῃ· ἐκκλησιόμενοι δὲ τῇ ὥρῃ οἱ νεηνῖαι

<sup>1</sup> Stein brackets εἵνεκεν.

you, by reason of your wisdom and your wanderings, how that you have travelled far to seek knowledge and to see the world. Now therefore I am fain to ask you, if you have ever seen a man more blest than all his fellows." So Croesus inquired, supposing himself to be blest beyond all men. But Solon spoke the truth without flattery: "Such an one, O King," he said, "I have seen—Tellus of Athens." Croesus wondered at this, and sharply asked Solon "How do you judge Tellus to be most blest?" Solon replied: "Tellus' city was prosperous, and he was the father of noble sons, and he saw children born to all of them and their state well established; moreover, having then as much wealth as a man may among us, he crowned his life with a most glorious death: for in a battle between the Athenians and their neighbours at Eleusis he attacked and routed the enemy and most nobly there died; and the Athenians gave him public burial where he fell and paid him great honour."

31. Now when Solon had roused the curiosity of Croesus by recounting the many ways in which Tellus was blest, the king further asked him whom he placed second after Tellus, thinking that assuredly the second prize at least would be his. Solon answered: "Cleobis and Biton. These were Argives, and besides sufficient wealth they had such strength of body as I will show. Both were prizewinners; and this story too is related of them. There was a festival of Here toward among the Argives, and their mother must by all means be drawn to the temple by a yoke of oxen. But the oxen did not come in time from the fields; so the young men, being thus thwarted by lack of time, put themselves



ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ζεύγλην εἰλκον τὴν ἄμαξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης δέ σφι ὠχέετο ἡ μήτηρ· σταδίους δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα διακομίσαντες ἀπίκοντο εἰς τὸ ἱρόν. ταῦτα δέ σφι ποιήσασι καὶ ὀφθείσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου ἀρίστη ἐπεγένετο, διέδεξέ τε ἐν τούτοις ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἄμεινον εἶη ἀνθρώπῳ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν γὰρ περιστάντες ἐμακάριζον τῶν νεηνιέων τὴν ῥώμην, αἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖαι τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, οἶων τέκνων ἐκύρηνσε· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ περιχαρὴς ἐοῦσα τῷ τε ἔργῳ καὶ τῇ φήμῃ, στᾶσα ἀντίον τοῦ ἀγάλματος εὐχέτο Κλεόβι τε καὶ Βίτωνι τοῖσι ἐωυτῆς τέκνοισι, οἳ μιν ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως, τὴν θεὸν δοῦναι τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ τυχεῖν ἀριστον ἐστί. μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ὡς ἔθυσάν τε καὶ εὐωχήθησαν, κατακοιμηθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱρῷ οἱ νεηνῖαι οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν ἀλλ' ἐν τέλει τούτῳ ἔσχοντο. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ σφέων εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν εἰς Δελφοὺς ὡς ἀριστῶν γενομένων."

32. Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεῖα ἔνεμε τούτοις, Κροῖσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς εἶπε "ὦ ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ἡ δ' ἡμετέρη εὐδαιμονίη οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ὥστε οὐδὲ ἰδιωτέων ἀνδρῶν ἀξίους ἡμέας ἐποίησας;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὼν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχῶδες ἐπειρωτᾶς ἀνθρωπίνων πρηγμάτων περὶ. ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἰδεῖν τὰ μὴ τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν. εἰς γὰρ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὐρον τῆς ζῆς ἀνθρώπῳ προτίθημι. οὗτοι ἐόντες ἐνιαυτοὶ ἑβδομήκοντα παρέχονται ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καὶ δισμυρίας, ἐμβολίμου μηνὸς μὴ γινομένου· εἰ



To the yoke and drew the carriage with their mother sitting thereon: for five and forty furlongs they drew it till they came to the temple. Having done this, and been seen by the assembly, they made a most excellent end of their lives, and the god showed by these men how that it was better for a man to die than to live. For the men of Argos came round and gave the youths joy of their strength, and so likewise did the women to their mother, for the excellence of her sons. She then in her joy at what was done and said, came before the image of the goddess and prayed that her sons Cleobis and Biton, who had done such great honour to the goddess, should be given the best boon that a man may receive. After the prayer the young men sacrificed and ate of the feast; then they lay down to sleep in the temple itself and never rose up more, but here ended their lives. Then the Argives made and set up at Delphi images of them because of their excellence."

32. So Solon gave to Cleobis and Biton the second prize of happiness. But Croesus said in anger, "Guest from Athens! is our prosperity, then, held by you so worthless that you match us not even with common men?" "Croesus," said Solon, "you ask me concerning the lot of man; well I know how jealous is Heaven and how it loves to trouble us. In a man's length of days he may see and suffer many things that he much dislikes. For I set the limit of man's life at seventy years; in these seventy are days twenty-five thousand and two hundred, if we count not the intercalary month.<sup>1</sup> But if every

<sup>1</sup> The "intercalary" month is a month periodically inserted to make the series of solar and calendar years eventually correspond. But Herodotus' reckoning here would make the average length of a year 375 days.

δὲ δὴ ἐβελήσῃ τοῦτερον τῶν ἐτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἵνα δὴ αἱ ὄραι συμβαίνωσι παραγινόμεναι ἐς τὸ δέον, μῆνες μὲν παρὰ τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἕτεα οἱ ἐμβόλιμοι γίνονται τριήκοντα πέντε, ἡμέραι δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων χίλια πεντήκοντα. τούτων τῶν ἀπασέων ἡμερέων τῶν ἐς τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἕτεα, ἐουσέων πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσιέων καὶ ἑξακισχιλίεων καὶ δισμυριέων, ἡ ἐτέρη αὐτέων τῇ ἐτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὅμοιον προσάγει πρῆγμα. οὕτω ὦν Κροῖσε πᾶν ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπος συμφορῇ. ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ καὶ πλουτέειν μέγα φαίνας καὶ βασιλεὺς πολλῶν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων· ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ εἶρέο με, οὐκ ἔγω λέγω, πρὶν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα πύθωμαι. οὐ γάρ τι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιώτερος ἐστί, εἰ μὴ οἱ τύχῃ ἐπίσποιτο πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα εὖ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ζᾶπλουτοι ἀνθρώπων ἀνόλβιοι εἰσὶ, πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου εὐτυχέες. ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγα πλούσιος ἀνόλβιος δὲ δυοῖσι προέχει τοῦ εὐτυχέος μῦνον, οὗτος δὲ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνόλβου πολλοῖσι· ὁ μὲν ἐπιθυμίην ἐκτελέσαι καὶ αἴτην μεγάλην προσπεσούσαν ἐνεῖκαι δυι ατῶτερος, ὁ δὲ τοῖσιδε προέχει ἐκείνου· αἴτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην οὐκ ὁμοίως δυνατός ἐκείνῳ ἐνεῖκαι, ταῦτα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχία οἱ ἀπερύκει, ἄπηρος δὲ ἐστί, ἄνουςος, ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, εὐπαις, εὐειδής. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἐτι τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον εὖ, οὗτος ἐκεῖνος τὸν σὺ ζητέεις, ὁ ὀλβιος κεκλησθαι ἄξιός ἐστί· πρὶν δ' ἂν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχεῖν, μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὀλβιον ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα. τὰ πάντα μὲν νυν ταῦτα

second year be lengthened by a month so that the seasons and the calendar may rightly accord, then the intercalary months are five and thirty, over and above the seventy years: and the days of these months are one thousand and fifty; so then all the days together of the seventy years are seen to be twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty; and one may well say that no one of all these days is like another in that which it brings. Thus then, Croesus, the whole of man is but chance. Now if I am to speak of you, I say that I see you very rich and the king of many men. But I cannot yet answer your question, before I hear that you have ended your life well. For he who is very rich is not more blest than he who has but enough for the day, unless fortune so attend him that he ends his life well, having all good things about him. Many men of great wealth are unblest, and many that have no great substance are fortunate. Now the very rich man who is yet unblest has but two advantages over the fortunate man, but the fortunate man has many advantages over the rich but unblest: for this latter is the stronger to accomplish his desire and to bear the stroke of great calamity; but these are the advantages of the fortunate man, that though he be not so strong as the other to deal with calamity and desire, yet these are kept far from him by his good fortune, and he is free from deformity, sickness, and all evil, and happy in his children and his comeliness. If then such a man besides all this shall also end his life well, then he is the man whom you seek, and is worthy to be called blest; but we must wait till he be dead, and call him not yet blest, but fortunate. Now

συλλαβεῖν ἄνθρωπον ἔοντα ἀδύνατον ἐστί, ὥσπερ  
 χώρα οὐδεμία καταρκέει πάντα ἐωυτῇ παρέχουσα,  
 ἀλλὰ ἄλλο μὲν ἔχει ἑτέρου δὲ ἐπιδέεται· ἡ δὲ ἂν  
 τὰ πλείστα ἔχη, αὕτη ἀρίστη. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἄν-  
 θρώπου σῶμα ἐν οὐδὲν αὐταρκες ἐστί· τὸ μὲν γάρ  
 ἔχει, ἄλλου δὲ ἐνδεές ἐστί· ὃς δ' ἂν αὐτῶν πλείστα  
 ἔχων διατελέῃ καὶ ἔπειτα τελευτήσῃ εὐχαρίστως  
 τὸν βίον, οὗτος παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ οὖνομα τοῦτο ὦ  
 βασιλεῦ δίκαιος ἐστὶ φέρεσθαι. σκοπέειν δὲ χρὴ  
 παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν, κῆ ἀποβήσεται  
 πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προρ-  
 ρίζους ἀνέτρεψε."

33. Ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὐ κως οὔτε  
 ἐχαρίζετο, οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς  
 ἀποπέμπεται, κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθέα εἶναι, ὃς τὰ  
 παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ μετεῖς τὴν τελευτήν παντὸς  
 χρήματος ὁρᾷν ἐκέλευε.

34. Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ  
 νέμεσις μεγάλῃ Κροῖσον, ὥς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε  
 ἐωυτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ὀλβιώτατον.  
 αὐτίκα δὲ οἱ εὐδοντι ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ὃς οἱ τὴν  
 ἀληθείην ἔφαινε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν  
 κατὰ τὸν παῖδα. ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ δύο παῖδες,  
 τῶν οὐτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο, ἦν γὰρ δὴ κωφός, ὁ δὲ  
 ἕτερος τῶν ἡλίκων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος·  
 οὖνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Ἄτυς. τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἄτιν  
 σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῳ ὁ ὄνειρος, ὥς ἀπολέει μιν  
 αἰχμῇ σιδηρῇ βληθέντα. ὁ δ' ἐπέιτε ἐξηγέρθη  
 καὶ ἐωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε, καταρρωδῆσας τὸν ὄνειρον  
 ἥγεται μὲν τῷ παιδί γυναικα, ἐωθότα δὲ στρατη-  
 γέειν μιν τῶν Λυδῶν οὐδαμῇ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο  
 πρῆγμα ἐξέπεμπε· ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια καὶ τὰ



no one (who is but man) can have all these good things together, just as no land is altogether self-sufficing in what it produces: one thing it has, another it lacks, and the best land is that which has most; so too no single person is sufficient for himself: one thing he has, another he lacks; but whoever continues in the possession of most things, and at last makes a gracious end of his life, such a man, O King, I deem worthy of this title. We must look to the conclusion of every matter, and see how it shall end, for there are many to whom heaven has given a vision of blessedness, and yet afterwards brought them to utter ruin."

33. So spoke Solon: Croesus therefore gave him no largess, but sent him away as a man of no account, for he thought that man to be very foolish who disregarded present prosperity and bade him look rather to the end of every matter.

34. But after Solon's departure, the divine anger fell heavily on Croesus: as I guess, because he supposed himself to be blest beyond all other men. Presently, as he slept, he was visited by a dream, which foretold truly to him the evil which should befall his son. He had two sons, one of whom was wholly undone, for he was deaf and dumb, but the other, whose name was Atys, was in every way far pre-eminent over all of his years. The dream then showed to Croesus that Atys should be smitten and killed by a spear of iron. So Croesus, when he woke and considered the dream with himself, was greatly affrighted by it; and first he made a marriage for his son, and moreover, whereas Atys was wont to lead the Lydian armies, Croesus now would not suffer him to go out on any such enterprise, while



τοιαῦτα πάντα τοῖσι χρέωνται ἐς πόλεμον ἄνθρωποι, ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρεῶνων ἐκκομίσας ἐς τοὺς θαλάμους συνένησε, μή τί οἱ κρεμάμενον τῷ παιδί ἐμπέσῃ.

35. Ἐχοντι<sup>1</sup> δέ οἱ ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἀνὴρ συμφορῇ ἐχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χειρας, ἐὼν Φρυξ μὲν γενεῇ, γένεος δὲ τοῦ βασιλῆιου. παρελθὼν δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὰ Κροῖσου οἰκία κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθαρσίου ἐδέετο κυρῆσαι, Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἐκάθηρε. ἔστι δὲ παραπλησίη ἡ κάθαρσις τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι. ἐπεῖτε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τίς εἴη, λέγων τάδε· “Ὁνθρώπε, τίς τε ἐὼν καὶ κόθεν τῆς Φρυγίης ἦκων ἐπίστιός μοι ἐγένηο; τίνα τε ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἐφόνευσας;” ὃ δὲ ἀμείβετο “ὦ βασιλεῦ, Γορδίῳ μὲν τοῦ Μίδεω εἰμὶ παῖς, ὀνομάζομαι δὲ Ἀδρηστος, φονεύσας δὲ ἀδελφεὸν ἐμεωυτοῦ ἀέκων πάρειμι ἐξεληλαμένος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένος πᾶντων.” Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε· “Ἀνδρῶν τε φίλων τυγχάνεις ἔκγονος ἐὼν καὶ ἐλήλυθας ἐς φίλους, ἔνθα ἀμηχανήσεις χρήματος οὐδενὸς μένων ἐν ἡμετέρῳ, συμφορὴν τε ταύτην ὥς κουφώτατα φέρων κερδανέεις πλεῖστον.”

36. Ὁ μὲν δὴ δίαιταν εἶχε ἐν Κροῖσου. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Ὀλύμπῳ υἱὸς χρήμα γίνεται μέγα· ὀρμώμενος δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ ὄρεος τούτου τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρεσκε. πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Μυσοὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐξελθόντες

<sup>1</sup> ἔχοντι Stein.

he took the javelins and spears and all such instruments of war from the men's apartments and piled them up in his storehouse,<sup>1</sup> lest any of them should fall upon his son from where it hung.

35. Now while Croesus was busied about the marriage of his son, there came to Sardis a Phrygian of the royal house, in great distress and with hands unclean. This man came to Croesus' house, and entreated that he might be purified after the custom of the country; so Croesus purified him (the Lydians use the same manner of purification as do the Greeks), and when he had done all according to usage, he inquired of the Phrygian whence he came and who he was: "Friend," said he, "who are you, and from what place in Phrygia do you come to be my suppliant? and what man or woman have you slain?" "O King," the man answered, "I am the son of Gordias the son of Midas, and my name is Adrastus; by no will of mine, I slew my brother, and hither I am come, banished by my father and bereft of all." Croesus answered, "All of your family are my friends, and to friends you have come, among whom you shall lack nothing but abide in my house. And for your misfortune, bear it as lightly as may be and you will be the more profited."

36. So Adrastus lived in Croesus' house. About this same time there appeared on the Mysian Olympus a great monster of a boar, who would issue out from that mountain and ravage the fields of the Mysians. Often had the Mysians gone out against

<sup>1</sup> Or, perhaps, "in the women's quarters."

ποιέεσκον μὲν κακὸν οὐδέν, ἔπασχον δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ ἀπικόμενοι παρὰ τὸν Κροῖσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον τάδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, υἱὸς χρημα μέγιστον ἀνεφάνη ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὃς τὰ ἔργα διαφθείρει. τοῦτον προθυμεόμενοι ἐλεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα. νῦν ὦν προσδεόμεθά σευ τὸν παῖδα καὶ λογάδας νεηνίας καὶ κύνας συμπέμψαι ἡμῖν, ὥς ἂν μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας.” οἱ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐδέοντο, Κροῖσος δὲ μνημονεύων τοῦ ἀνείρου τὰ ἔπεα ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. “Παιδὸς μὲν περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ μὴ μνησθῆτε ἔτι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν συμπέμψαιμι· νεόγαμός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτά οἱ νῦν μέλει. Λυδῶν μὲντοι λογάδας καὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον πᾶν συμπέμψω, καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῖσι ἰούσι εἶναι ὥς προθυμοτάτοις συνεξελεῖν ὑμῖν τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χώρας.”

37. Ταῦτα ἀμείψατο· ὑποχρεωμένων δὲ τούτοις τῶν Μυσῶν, ἐπεσέρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροῖσου παῖς ἀκηκοὺς τῶν ἐδέοντο οἱ Μυσοί. οὐ φαμένον δὲ τοῦ Κροῖσου τὸν γε παῖδά σφι συμπέμψειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεηνίης τάδε. “ὦ πάτερ, τὰ κάλλιστα πρότερον κοτὲ καὶ γενναιώτατα ἡμῖν ἦν ἐς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγρας φοιτέοντας εὐδοκίμειν· νῦν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀπόκληίσας ἔχεις, οὔτε τινὰ δειλίην μοι παριδὼν οὔτε ἀθυμίην νῦν τε τέοισί με χρὴ ὄμμασι ἐς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα φαίνεσθαι; κοῖος μὲν τις τοῖσι πολιήτησι δόξω εἶναι, κοῖος δὲ τις τῇ νεογάμῳ γυναικί; κοῖος δὲ ἐκείνη δόξει ἀνδρὶ συνοικέειν; ἐμὲ ὦν σὺ ἢ μέτεες ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήρην, ἢ λόγῳ ἀνάπεισον ὅπως μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταῦτα οὔτε ποιεόμενα.”

him: but they never did him any harm and rather were themselves hurt thereby. At last they sent messengers to Croesus, with this message: "King, a great monster of a boar has appeared in the land, who destroys our fields; for all our attempts, we cannot kill him; now therefore, we beseech you, send with us your son, and chosen young men and dogs, that we may rid the country of him." Such was their entreaty, but Croesus remembered the prophecy of his dream and thus answered them: "Say no more about my son: I will not send him with you: he is newly married, and that is his present business. But I will send chosen men of the Lydians, and all the hunt, and I will bid those who go to use all zeal in aiding you to rid the country of this beast."

37. So he replied, and the Mysians were satisfied with this. But the son of Croesus now came in, who had heard the request of the Mysians; and when Croesus refused to send his son with them, "Father," said the young man, "it was formerly held fairest and noblest that we princes should go constantly to war and the chase and win thereby renown; but now you have barred me from both of these, not for any sign that you have seen in me of a coward or craven spirit. With what face can I thus show myself whenever I go to and from the market-place? What will the men of the city think of me, and what my new-wedded wife? With what manner of man will she think that she dwells? Nay, do you either let me go to this hunt, or show me by reason good that what you are doing is best for me."



## HERODOTUS

38. Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος τοῖσιδε. "ὦ παῖ, οὔτε δειλὴν οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παριδὼν τοι ποίεω ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ μοι ὄψις ὄνειρου ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐπιστᾶσα ἔφη σε ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔσεσθαι ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰχμῆς σιδηρῆς ἀπολέεσθαι. πρὸς ὧν τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην τόν τε γάμον τοι τοῦτον ἔσπενσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα οὐκ ἀποπέμπω, φυλακὴν ἔχων, εἴ κως δυναίμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σε ζῆς διακλέψαι. εἰς γάρ μοι μῦθος τυγχάνεις ἐὼν παῖς· τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοὴν οὐκ εἶναί μοι λογίζομαι."

39. Ἀμείβεται ὁ νεηνίης τοῖσιδε. "Συγγνώμη μὲν ὦ πάτερ τοι, ἰδόντι γε ὄψιν τοιαύτην, περὶ ἐμέ φυλακὴν ἔχειν· τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις ἀλλὰ λέλθῃ σε τὸ ὄνειρον, ἐμέ τοι δίκαιον ἐστὶ φράζειν. φῆς τοι τὸ ὄνειρον ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς σιδηρῆς φάναι ἐμέ τελευτήσῃν· υἱὸς δὲ κοῖαι μὲν εἰσὶ χεῖρες, κοίη δὲ αἰχμὴ σιδηρὴ τὴν σὺ φοβέαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος τοι εἶπε τελευτήσῃν με, ἢ ἄλλου τευ ὃ τι τούτῳ ἔοικε, χρὴν δὴ σε ποιέειν τὰ ποιέεις· νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς. ἐπεῖτε ὧν οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν γίνεται ἡ μάχη, μέτεσ με."

40. Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος "ὦ παῖ, ἔστι τῇ με νικᾶς γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου. ὥς ὧν νενικημένος ὑπὸ σέο μεταγινώσκω, μετήμῃ τε σὲ ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγρην."

41. Εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φρύγα Ἀδρηστον, ἀπικομένῳ δέ οἱ λέγει τάδε. "Ἀδρηστε, ἐγὼ σε συμφορῇ πεπληγμένον ἄχαρι, τὴν τοι οὐκ ὀνειδίζω, ἐκάθηρα καὶ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος ἔχω, παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπάνην. νῦν ὧν (ὀφείλεις γὰρ ἐμοῦ προποιήσαντος χρηστὰ ἐς



\* 38. "My son," answered Croesus, "if I do this, it is not that I have seen cowardice or aught unseemly in you; no, but the vision of a dream stood over me in my sleep, and told me that your life should be short, for you should be slain by a spear of iron. It is for that vision that I was careful to make your marriage, and send you on no enterprise that I have in hand, but keep guard over you, so that haply I may trick death of you through my lifetime. You are my only son: for that other, since his hearing is lost to him, I count no son of mine."

39. "Father," the youth replied, "none can blame you for keeping guard over me, when you have seen such a vision; but it is my right to show you this which you do not perceive, and wherein you mistake the meaning of the dream. You say that the dream told you that I should be killed by a spear of iron; but has a boar hands? Has it that iron spear which you dread? Had the dream said I should be slain by a tusk or some other thing belonging to a boar, you had been right in acting as you act; but no, it was to be a spear. Therefore, since it is not against men that we are to fight, suffer me to go."

40. Croesus answered, "My son, your judgment concerning the dream does somewhat overpersuade me; and being so convinced by you I change my purpose and permit you to go to the chase."

41. Having said this, Croesus sent for Adrastus the Phrygian and when he came thus addressed him: "Adrastus, when you were smitten by grievous misfortune, for which I blame you not, it was I who cleansed you, and received and still keep you in my house, defraying all your charges. Now therefore (as you owe me a return of good service for the benefits

σέ χρηστοῖσί με ἀμείβεσθαι) φύλακα παιδός σέ τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρήζω γενέσθαι ἐς ἄγρην ὀρμωμένου, μή τινες κατ' ὁδὸν κλῶπες κακοῦργοι ἐπὶ δηλήσι φανέωσι ὑμῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ σέ τοι χρεόν ἐστι ἵεναι ἔνθα ἀπολαμπρυνέαι τοῖσι ἔργοισιν πατρώϊόν τε γάρ τοι ἐστὶ καὶ προσέτι ῥώμη ὑπάρχει."

42. Ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἄδρηστος "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἄλλως μὲν ἔγωγε ἂν οὐκ ἦα ἐς ἄεθλον τοιόνδε οὔτε γὰρ συμφορῇ τοιῇδε κεχρημένον οἶκός ἐστι ἐς ὁμήλικας εὖ πρήσσοντας ἵεναι, οὔτε τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα, πολλαχῇ τε ἂν ἰσχὸν ἐμεωντόν. νῦν δέ, ἐπεῖτε σὺ σπεύδεις καὶ δεῖ τοι χαρίζεσθαι (ὀφείλω γάρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι), ποιέειν εἰμὶ ἔτοιμος ταῦτα, παῖδά τε σόν, τὸν διακελεύεαι φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἵνεκεν προσδόκα τοι ἀπονοστήσειν."

43. Τοιούτοις ἐπεῖτε οὗτος ἀμείψατο Κροῖσον, ἦσαν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηρτυμένοι λογῆσι τε νεηνήσι καὶ κυσί. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὀλυμπον τὸ ὄρος ἐξήτεον τὸ θηρίον, εὐρόντες δὲ καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ ἐσηκόντιζον. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ ξεῖνος, οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν φόνον, καλεόμενος δὲ Ἄδρηστος, ἀκοντίζων τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ μὲν ἀμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου παιδός. ὁ μὲν δὴ βληθεὶς τῇ αἰχμῇ ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὄνείρου τὴν φήμην, ἔθεε δὲ τις ἀγγελέων τῷ Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις τὴν τε μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδός μόρον ἐσήμηνέ οἱ.

44. Ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ παιδός συντεταραγμένος μᾶλλον τι ἐδεινολογέετο ὅτι μιν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αὐτὸς φόνον ἐκάθηρε περιημεκτέων

which I have done you) I ask you to watch over my son as he goes out to the chase. See to it that no ruffian robbers meet you on the way, to do you harm. Moreover it is but right that you too should go where you can win renown by your deeds. That is fitting for your father's son; and you are strong enough withal."

42. "O King," Adrastus answered, "had it been otherwise, I would not have gone forth on this enterprise. One so unfortunate as I should not consort with the prosperous among his peers; nor have I the wish so to do, and for many reasons I would have held back. But now, since you so desire and I must do your pleasure (owing you as I do a requital of good service), I am ready to obey you in this; and for your son, in so far as I can protect him, look for his coming back unharmed."

43. So when Adrastus had thus answered Croesus they went out presently equipped with a company of chosen young men and dogs. When they had come to Mount Olympus they hunted for the beast, and having found him they made a ring and threw their spears at him: then the guest called Adrastus, the man who had been cleansed of the deed of blood, missed the boar with his spear and hit the son of Croesus. So Atys was smitten by the spear and fulfilled the utterance of the dream. One ran to bring Croesus word of what had been done, and came to Sardis, where he told the king of the fight and the manner of his son's end.

44. Croesus, distraught by the death of his son, cried out the more vehemently because the slayer was one whom he himself had cleansed of a bloody

δὲ τῇ συμφορῇ δεινῶς ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία καθάρσιον<sup>1</sup> μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθῶς εἶη ἐκάλεε δὲ ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ ἑταιρήιον, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζων θεόν, τὸν μὲν ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξεῖνον φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βόσκων, τὸν δὲ ἑταιρήιον, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν εὐρήκοι πολεμιώτατον.

45. Παρήσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρόν, ὅπισθε δὲ εἶπετό οἱ ὁ φονεὺς. στὰς δὲ οὗτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρεδίδου ἑωυτὸν Κροῖσῳ προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπικατασφάζαι μιν κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ, λέγων τὴν τε προτέρην ἑωυτοῦ συμφορὴν, καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκῶς εἶη, οὐδὲ οἱ εἶη βιώσιμον. Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας τὸν τε Ἀδρηστον κατοικτεῖρει, καίπερ ἔων ἐν κακῷ οἰκίῳ τοσούτῳ καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν "Ἐχω ὡς ξεῖνε παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην, ἐπεὶ δὴ σεωυτοῦ καταδικάζεις θάνατον. εἰς δὲ οὐ σύ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἀέκων ἐξεργάσαιο, ἀλλὰ θεῶν κού τις, ὅς μοι καὶ πάλαι προεσήμαινε τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι." Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ἔθαψε ὡς οἶκος ἦν τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα· Ἀδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίῳ τοῦ Μίδεω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ φονεὺς μὲν τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος, ἐπεῖτε ἡσυχίῃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ σῆμα, συγγινωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τῶν αὐτὸς ἤδεε βαρυσυμφορώτατος, ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ ἑωυτόν.

46. Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτεα ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ



deed, and in his great and terrible grief at this mischance he called on Zeus by three names—Zeus the Purifier, Zeus of the Hearth, Zeus of Comrades: the first, because he would have the god know what evil his guest had wrought him; the second, because he had received the guest into his house and thus unwittingly entertained the slayer of his son; and the third, because he had found his worst foe in the man whom he sent as a protector.

45. Soon came the Lydians, bearing the dead corpse, with the slayer following after. He then came and stood before the body and gave himself wholly into Croesus' power, holding out his hands and praying the king to slay him where he stood by the dead man: "Remember," he said, "my former mischance, and see how besides that I have undone him who purified me; indeed, it is not fit that I should live." On hearing this Croesus, though his own sorrow was so great, took pity on Adrastus and said to him, "Friend, I have from you all that justice asks, since you deem yourself worthy of death. But it is not you that I hold the cause of this evil, save in so far as you were the unwilling doer of it: rather it is the work of a god, the same who told me long ago what was to be." So Croesus buried his own son in such manner as was fitting. But Adrastus, son of Gordias who was son of Midas, this Adrastus, the slayer of his own brother and of the man who purified him, when the tomb was undisturbed by the presence of men, slew himself there by the sepulchre, seeing now clearly that he was the most ill-fated wretch of all men whom he knew.

46. Croesus, after the loss of his son, sat in deep



κατήστο τοῦ παιδὸς ἐστερημένος. μετὰ δὲ ἡ Ἀστυάγεος τοῦ Κναξάρου ἡγεμονίη κατααιρεθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσον ἀπέπαυσε, ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα, εἴ πως δύναιτο, πρὶν μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν. μετὰ ὧν τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην αὐτίκα ἀπεπειράτο τῶν μαντηῶν τῶν τε ἐν Ἑλλησι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ, διαπέμψας ἄλλους ἄλλη, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἵέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Ἀβας τὰς Φωκέων, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην· οἱ δὲ τινὲς ἐπέμποντο παρὰ τε Ἀμφιάρεων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον, οἱ δὲ τῆς Μιλησίης ἐς Βραγχίδας. ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μαντήια ἐς τὰ ἀπέπεμψε μαντευσόμενος Κροῖσος· Λιβύης δὲ παρὰ Ἀμμωνα ἀπέστελλε ἄλλους χρησομένους. διέπεμπε δὲ πειρώμενος τῶν μαντηῶν ὅ τι φρονέοιεν, ὥς εἰ φρονέοντα τὴν ἀληθείην εὐρεθείη, ἐπείρηται σφέα δεύτερα πέμπων εἰ ἐπιχειρέοι ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι.

47. Ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι τάδε ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν χρηστηρίων, ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ὀρμηθέωσι ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμερολογέοντας τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἑκατοστῇ ἡμέρῃ χρᾶσθαι τοῖσι χρηστηρίοις, ἐπειρωτῶντας ὅ τι ποίεων τυγχάνοι ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττειω· ἅσσα δ' ἂν ἕκαστα τῶν χρηστηρίων θεσπίσῃ, συγγραψαμένους ἀναφέρειν παρ' ἐωυτόν. ὅ τι μὲν νυν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐθέσπισε, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν· ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖσι ὥς ἐσηλθον τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Λυδοὶ χρῆσσομενοὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐπειρώτων τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ἡ Πυθίη ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ λέγει τάδε.

sorrow for two years. After this time, the destruction by Cyrus son of Cambyses of the sovereignty of Astyages son of Cyaxares, and the growth of the power of the Persians, caused him to cease from his mourning; and he resolved, if he could, to forestall the increase of the Persian power before they grew to greatness. Having thus determined, he straightway made trial of the Greek and Libyan oracles, sending messengers separately to Delphi, to Abae in Phocia, and to Dodona, while others again were despatched to Amphiaraus and Trophonius,<sup>1</sup> and others to Branchidae in the Milesian country. These are the Greek oracles to which Croesus sent for divination: and he bade others go to inquire of Ammon in Libya. His intent in sending was to test the knowledge of the oracles, so that, if they should be found to know the truth, he might send again and ask if he should take in hand an expedition against the Persians.

47. And when he sent to make trial of these shrines he gave the Lydians this charge: they were to keep count of the time from the day of their leaving Sardis, and on the hundredth day inquire of the oracles what Croesus, king of Lydia, son of Alyattes, was then doing; then they were to write down whatever were the oracular answers and bring them back to him. Now none relate what answer was given by the rest of the oracles. But at Delphi, no sooner had the Lydians entered the hall to inquire of the god and asked the question with which they were charged, than the Pythian priestess uttered the following hexameter verses:

<sup>1</sup> That is, to the oracular shrines of these legendary heroes.

Οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα  
 θαλάσσης,  
 καὶ κωφοῦ συνήμι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω.  
 ὁδμή μ' ἐς φρένας ἦλθε κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης  
 ἐψομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἅμ' ἀρνείοισι κρεεσσιν,  
 ἧ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δ' ἐπιέσται.

48. Ταῦτα οἱ Λυδοὶ θεσπισάσης τῆς Πυθίης  
 συγγραψάμενοι οἷχοντο ἀπιόντες ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις.  
 ὥς δὲ καὶ ὅλλοι οἱ περιπεμφθέντες παρήσαν  
 φεροντες τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος  
 ἕκαστα ἀναπτύσσων ἐπώρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων.  
 τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσίετό μιν ὁ δὲ ὥς τὸ ἐκ  
 Δελφῶν ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετό τε καὶ προσ-  
 εδέξατο, νομίσας μῦνον εἶναι μαντήιον τὸ ἐν  
 Δελφοῖσι, ὅτι οἱ ἐξευρήκεε τὰ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε.  
 ἐπεῖτε γὰρ δὴ διέπεμψε παρὰ τὰ χρηστήρια τοὺς  
 θεοπρόπους, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερέων  
 ἐμηχανᾶτο τοιάδε· ἐπινοήσας τὰ ἦν ἀμήχανον  
 ἐξευρεῖν τε καὶ ἐπιφράσασθαι, χελώνην καὶ ἄρνα  
 κατακόψας ὁμοῦ ἤψε αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι χαλκέῳ,  
 χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθείς.

49. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω τῷ Κροίσῳ  
 ἐχρήσθη· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμφιάρεω τοῦ μαντηίου  
 ὑπόκρισιν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὃ τι τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι  
 ἔχρησε ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα (οὐ  
 γὰρ ὦν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται), ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι καὶ  
 τοῦτο ἐνόμισε μαντήιον ἀψευδὲς ἐκτῆσθαι.

Grains of sand I reckon and measure the spaces of  
 ocean,  
 Hear when dumb men speak, and mark the speech  
 of the silent.  
 What is it now that I smell? 'tis a tortoise mightily  
 armoured  
 Sodden in vessel of bronze, with a lamb's flesh  
 mingled together :  
 Bronze thereunder is laid and a mantle of bronze is  
 upon it."

48. Having written down this inspired utterance of the Pythian priestess, the Lydians went away back to Sardis. When the others as well who had been sent to divers places came bringing their oracles, Croesus then unfolded and surveyed all the writings. Some of them in no wise satisfied him. But when he heard the Delphian message, he acknowledged it with worship and welcome, considering that Delphi was the only true place of divination, because it had discovered what he himself had done. For after sending his envoys to the oracles, he bethought him of a device which no conjecture could discover, and carried it out on the appointed day : namely, he cut up a tortoise and a lamb, and then himself boiled them in a caldron of bronze covered with a lid of the same.

49. Such then was the answer from Delphi delivered to Croesus. As to the reply which the Lydians received from the oracle of Amphiaraus when they had followed the due custom of the temple, I cannot say what it was, for nothing is recorded of it, saving that Croesus held that from this oracle too he had obtained a true answer.



50. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἱλάσκετο· κτήνεά τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια ἔθυσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας καὶ εἴματα πορφύρεα καὶ κιθῶνας, νήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε, ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τι τούτοις ἀνακτήσεσθαι· Λυδοῖσι τε πᾶσι προεῖπε θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὃ τι ἔχοι ἕκαστος. ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυσε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων ἑξαπάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαιστα, ὕψος δὲ παλαιστιαιᾶ. ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ τέσσερα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἕκαστον ἔλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποίεετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου ἔλκουσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπεῖτε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηὸς, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἴδρυτο), καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν ἑβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον· ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον.

51. Ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπε εἰς Δελφούς, καὶ τότε ἄλλα ἅμα τοῖσι, κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθει μεγάλους, χρύσειον καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσειος ἔκειτο ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ ἐσιόντι εἰς τὸν νηόν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά. μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν κατακαέντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσειος κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν εἴνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἔτι δυώδεκα μνίας, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηίου τῆς



50. After this, he strove to win the favour of the Delphian god with great sacrifices. He offered up three thousand beasts from each kind fit for sacrifice, and he burnt on a great pyre couches covered with gold and silver, golden goblets, and purple cloaks and tunics; by these means he hoped the better to win the aid of the god, to whom he also commanded that every Lydian should sacrifice what he could. When the sacrifice was over, he melted down a vast store of gold and made of it ingots of which the longer sides were of six and the shorter of three palms' length, and the height was one palm. These were an hundred and seventeen in number. Four of them were of refined gold, each weighing two talents and a half; the rest were of gold with silver alloy, each of two talents' weight. He bade also to be made a figure of a lion of refined gold, weighing ten talents. When the temple of Delphi was burnt, this lion fell from the ingots which were the base whereon it stood; and now it lies in the treasury of the Corinthians, but weighs only six talents and a half, for the fire melted away three and a half talents.

51. When these offerings were fully made, Croesus sent them to Delphi, with other gifts besides, namely, two very great bowls, one of gold and one of silver. The golden bowl stood to the right, the silver to the left, of the temple entrance. These too were removed about the time of the temple's burning, and now the golden bowl, which weighs eight talents and a half, and twelve minae,<sup>1</sup> lies in the treasury of the Clazomenians, and the silver bowl at the corner of the forecourt of the temple. This

<sup>1</sup> μνα = about 15 oz. Troy weight.

γωνίης, χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους· ἐπικίρνатаί γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν θεοφανίοισι. φασὶ δέ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους τέσσερας ἀπέπεμψε, οἱ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἐστᾶσι, καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσειον τε καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Λακεδαιμονίων φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροῖσου, ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὖνομα οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστί, οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδέτερον. ἀλλὰ τε ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα τούτοις ὁ Κροῖσος, καὶ χεύματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἰδωλον χρύσειον τρίπηχυν, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροῖσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐωντοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ τὰς ζώνας.

52. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφούς ἀπέπεμψε, τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεω, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσειον πᾶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν χρυσέην, τὸ ξυστὸν τῇσι λόγχῃσι ἐὼν ὁμοίως χρύσειον· τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφότερα ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι καὶ Θηβέων ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

53. Τοῖσι δὲ ἄγειν μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν ταῦτα τὰ δῶρα ἐς τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπειρωτᾶν τὰ χρηστήρια εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖσος καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο φίλον,

bowl holds six hundred nine-gallon measures: for the Delphians use it for a mixing-bowl at the feast of the Divine Appearance.<sup>1</sup> It is said by the Delphians to be the work of Theodorus of Samos, and I believe them, for it seems to me to be of no common workmanship. Moreover, Croesus sent four silver casks, which stand in the treasury of the Corinthians, and dedicated two sprinkling-vessels, one of gold, one of silver. The golden vessel bears the inscription "Given by the Lacedaemonians," who claim it as their offering. But they are wrong, for this, too, is Croesus' gift. The inscription was made by a certain Delphian, whose name I know but will not reveal, out of his desire to please the Lacedaemonians. The figure of a boy, through whose hand the water runs, is indeed a Lacedaemonian gift; but they did not give either of the sprinkling-vessels. Along with these Croesus sent, besides many other offerings of no great mark, certain round basins of silver, and a golden female figure three cubits high, which the Delphians assert to be the statue of the woman who was Croesus' baker. Moreover he dedicated his own wife's necklaces and girdles.

52. Such were the gifts which he sent to Delphi. To Amphiaras, having learnt of his valour and his fate, he dedicated a shield made entirely of gold and a spear all of solid gold, point and shaft alike. Both of these lay till my time at Thebes, in the Theban temple of Æsmenian Apollo.

53. The Lydians who were to bring these gifts to the temples were charged by Croesus to inquire of the oracles, "Shall Croesus send an army against the Persians: and shall he take to himself any allied

<sup>1</sup> The Theophania was a festival at Delphi, at which the statues of gods were shown.

ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπεπέμφθησαν οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι λέγοντες “Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεὺς, νομίσας τάδε μαντήια εἶναι μούνα ἐν ἀνθρώποισι, ὑμῖν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων, καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρωτὰ εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο σύμμαχον.” οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτων, τῶν δὲ μαντηῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸντο αἰ γινῶμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροῖσῳ, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μιν καταλύσειν· τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευόν οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι.

54. Ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀνενειχθέντα τὰ θεοπρόπια ἐπύθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληίην, πέμψας αὐτὶς ἐς Πυθῶ Δελφοὺς δωρέεται, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, κατ’ ἄνδρα δύο στατῆρσι ἕκαστον χρυσοῦ. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν Κροῖσῳ καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντήϊν καὶ ἀτελείην καὶ προεδρίην, καὶ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον.

55. Δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὁ Κροῖσος ἐχρηστηριάζετο τὸ τρίτον· ἐπεῖτε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβε τοῦ μαντηίου ἀληθείην, ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ. ἐπειρώτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηριαζόμενος, εἴ οἱ πολυ-



host?" When the Lydians came to the places whither they were sent, they made present of the offerings, and inquired of the oracles, in these words: "Croesus, king of Lydia and other nations, seeing that he deems that here are the only true places of divination among men, endows you with such gifts as your wisdom merits. And now he would ask you, if he shall send an army against the Persians, and if he shall take to himself any allied host." Such was their inquiry; and the judgment given to Croesus by each of the two oracles was the same, to wit, that if he should send an army against the Persians he would destroy a great empire. And they counselled him to discover the mightiest of the Greeks and make them his friends.

54. When the divine answers had been brought back and Croesus learnt of them, he was greatly pleased with the oracles. So, being fully persuaded that he would destroy the kingdom of Cyrus, he sent once again to Pytho and endowed the Delphians with two gold staters<sup>1</sup> apiece, according to his knowledge of their number. The Delphians, in return, gave Croesus and all Lydians the right of first consulting the oracle, freedom from all charges, the chief seats at festivals, and perpetual right of Delphian citizenship to whosoever should wish.

55. Then Croesus after his gifts to the Delphians made a third inquiry of the oracle, for he would use it to the full, having received true answers from it; and the question which he asked in his inquest was whether his sovereignty should be of long

<sup>1</sup> The stater was the common gold coin of the Greek world. The value of Croesus' stater was probably about twenty-three shillings of our money.

χρόνιος ἔσται ἡ μουναρχίη. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ  
τάδε.

Ἄλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται,  
καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρέ, πολυψήφίδα παρ'  
Ἑρμον  
φεύγειν μηδὲ μένειν μηδ' αἰδέϊσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.

56. Τούτοις ἐλθοῦσι τοῖς ἔπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος  
πολλὸν τι μάλιστα πάντων ἥσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον  
οὐδαμὰ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύσειν Μήδων, οὐδ' ὦν  
αὐτὸς οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ παύσεσθαι κοτὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς.  
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων τοὺς ἂν Ἑλλή-  
νων δυνατωτάτους ἐόντας προσκτῆσαιτο φίλους,  
ἱστορέων δὲ εὗρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθη-  
ναίους προέχοντας τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος  
τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκρι-  
μένα, ἐόντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν τὸ δὲ  
Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώ-  
ρησε, τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ  
Δευκαλίωνος βασιλέος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν,  
ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν  
τε καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον χώρην, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστι-  
αιώτιν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ  
Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδνὸν καλεόμενον·  
ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὶς ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ  
τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτω ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν Δω-  
ρικὸν ἐκλήθη.

duration. To this the Pythian priestess answered as follows :

"Lydian, beware of the day when a mule is lord of the Medians :

Then with thy delicate feet by the stone-strewn channel of Hermus

Flee for thy life, nor abide, nor blush for the name of a craven."

56. When he heard these verses Croesus was pleased with them above all, for he thought that a mule would never be king of the Medians in place of a man, and so that he and his posterity would never lose his empire. Then he sought very carefully to discover who were the mightiest of the Greeks whom he should make his friends. He found by inquiry that the chief peoples were the Lacedaemonians among those of Doric, and the Athenians among those of Ionic stock. These races, Ionian and Dorian, were the foremost in ancient time, the first a Pelasgian and the second an Hellenic people. The Pelasgian stock has never yet left its habitation, the Hellenic has wandered often and afar. For in the days of king Deucalion<sup>1</sup> it inhabited the land of Phthia, then in the time of Dorus son of Hellen the country called Histiaeian, under Ossa and Olympus ; driven by the Cadmeans from this Histiaeian country it settled about Pindus in the parts called Macedonian ; thence again it migrated to Dryopia, and at last came from Dryopia into Peloponnesus, where it took the name of Dorian.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deucalion and Pyrrha were the survivors of the Deluge as known to Greek legend.

<sup>2</sup> The localities mentioned in the story of the migration into the Peloponnese are all in northern Greece.

57. Ἦντινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἴεσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν. εἰ δὲ χρεόν ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι εἰσὶν Πελασγῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκεόντων, οἳ ὁμouroi κοτὲ ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι (οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην), καὶ τῶν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκησάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἳ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἔοντα πολίσματα τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλε· εἰ τοῦτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἰέντες. εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος ἐὼν Πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφέας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι οὔτε οἱ Πλακιηνοί, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι· δηλοῦσί τε ὅτι τὸν ἡνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ.

58. Τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλῶσση μὲν ἐπέιτε ἐγένετο αἰεὶ κοτὲ τῇ αὐτῇ διαχράται, ὥς ἐμοὶ καταφαίνεται εἶναι· ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ ἐὼν ἀσθενές, ἀπὸ σμικροῦ τεο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρμώμενον αὖξεται ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνέων, Πελασγῶν μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῇ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συχνῶν. πρόσθε δὲ ὧν ἔμοιγε δοκέει οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὼν βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὖξηθῆναι.

59. Τούτων δὴ ὧν τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενόν τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ



57. What language the Pelasgians spoke I cannot accurately say. But if one may judge by those that still remain of the Pelasgians who dwell above the Tyrrheni<sup>1</sup> in the city of Creston—who were once neighbours of the people now called Dorians, and at that time inhabited the country which now is called Thessalian—and of the Pelasgians who inhabited Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, who came to dwell among the Athenians, and by other towns too which were once Pelasgian and afterwards took a different name:—if (I say) one may judge by these, the Pelasgians spoke a language which was not Greek. If then all the Pelasgian stock so spoke, then the Attic nation, being of Pelasgian blood, must have changed its language too at the time when it became part of the Hellenes. For the people of Creston and Placia have a language of their own in common, which is not the language of their neighbours; and it is plain that they still preserve the fashion of speech which they brought with them in their migration into the places where they dwell.

58. But the Hellenic stock, as to me seems clear, has ever used the same language since its beginning; yet being, when separated from the Pelasgians, but few in number, they have grown from a small beginning to comprise a multitude of nations, chiefly because the Pelasgians and many other foreign peoples united themselves with them. Before that, as I think, the Pelasgic stock nowhere increased greatly in number while it was of foreign speech.

59. Now, of these two peoples, Croesus learned that the Attic was held in subjection and divided

<sup>1</sup> If these are the Etruscans, then Creston may = Cortona: but the whole matter is doubtful.

Κροῖσος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἴπποκράτεος  
 τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος Ἀθηναίων.  
 Ἴπποκράτει γὰρ εἶναι ἰδιώτῃ καὶ θεωρέοντι τὰ  
 Ὀλύμπια τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα· θύσαντος γὰρ  
 αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱρὰ οἱ λέβητες ἐπεστεῶτες καὶ κρεῶν  
 τε εἶντες ἔμπλεοι καὶ ὕδατος ἄνευ πυρὸς ἔξεσαν  
 καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. Χίλων δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος  
 παρατυχὼν καὶ θεησάμενος τὸ τέρας συνεβούλευε  
 Ἴπποκράτει πρῶτα μὲν γυναῖκα μὴ ἄγεσθαι τέκ-  
 νοποιὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκία, εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δεύτερα  
 τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ εἰ τίς οἱ τυγχάνει ἐὼν  
 παῖς, τοῦτον ἀπείπασθαι. οὐκὼν ταῦτα παραινέ-  
 σαντος Χίλωνος πείθεσθαι θέλειν τὸν Ἴπποκράτεια·  
 γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισίστρατον τοῦτον,  
 ὃς στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ  
 πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προεστεῶτος  
 Μεγακλέος τοῦ Ἀλκμέωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου  
 Λυκούργου Ἀριστολαΐδew, καταφρονήσας τὴν  
 τυραννίδα ἤγειρε τρίτην στάσιν· συλλέξας δὲ  
 στασιώτας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστὰς  
 μηχανᾶται τοιαῦδε. τρωματίσας ἐωυτόν τε καὶ  
 ἡμιόνους ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ ζεῦγος ὥς  
 ἐκπεφευγῶς τοὺς ἐχθρούς, οἳ μιν ἐλαύνοντα ἐς  
 ἀγρὸν ἠθέλησαν ἀπολέσαι δῆθεν, ἐδέετό τε τοῦ  
 δήμου φυλακῆς τινος πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι, πρό-  
 τερον εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενομένῃ  
 στρατηγίῃ, Νίσαιάν τε ἐλὼν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξά-  
 μενος μεγάλα ἔργα. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 ἑξαπατηθεὶς ἔδωκέ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας  
 ἄνδρας τούτους οἱ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο  
 Πεισιστράτου, κορυνηφόροι δέ· ξύλων γὰρ κορύνας  
 ἔχοντες εἶποντό οἱ ὀπισθε. συνεπαναστάντες δὲ

into factions by Pisistratus son of Hippocrates, who at that time was sovereign over the Athenians. This Hippocrates was but a private man when a great marvel happened to him as he was at Olympia to see the games: when he had offered the sacrifice, the vessels, standing there full of meat and water, boiled without fire till they overflowed. Chilon the Lacedaemonian, who chanced to be there and saw this marvel, counselled Hippocrates not to take into his house a childbearing wife, if so might be: but if he had one already, then at least to send her away, and if he had a son, to disown him. Hippocrates refused to follow the counsel of Chilon, and presently there was born to him this Pisistratus aforesaid. In course of time there was a feud between the Athenians of the coast under Megacles son of Alcmeon and the Athenians of the plain under Lycurgus son of Aristolaides. Pisistratus then, having an eye to the sovereign power, raised up a third faction. He collected partisans and pretended to champion the hillmen; and this was his plan. Wounding himself and his mules, he drove his carriage into the market place with a tale that he had escaped from his enemies, who would have slain him (so he said) as he was driving into the country. So he besought the people that he might have a guard from them: and indeed he had won himself reputation in his command of the army against the Megarians, when he had taken Nisaea and performed other great exploits. Thus deceived, the Athenian people gave him a chosen guard of citizens, of whom Pisistratus made not spearmen but clubmen: for the retinue that followed him bore wooden clubs. These

οὔτοι ἄμα Πεισιστράτῳ ἔσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἦρχε Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε τιμὰς τὰς ἐούσας συνταράξας οὔτε θέσμια μεταλλάξας, ἐπὶ τε τοῖσι κατεστεῶσι ἔνεμε τὴν πόλιν κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ.

60. Μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τῷ τούτῳ φρονήσαντες οἱ τε τοῦ Μεγακλέος στασιῶται καὶ οἱ τοῦ Λυκούργου ἐξελαύνουσί μιν. οὕτω μὲν Πεισίστρατος ἔσχε τὸ πρῶτον Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα οὐκ ὧς κάρτα ἐρριζωμένην ἔχων ἀπέβαλε. οἱ δὲ ἐξελάσαντες Πεισίστρατον αὐτὶς ἐκ νῆς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐστασίασαν. περιελαυνόμενος δὲ τῇ στάσι ὁ Μεγακλῆς ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτῳ, εἰ βούλοιτό οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι. ἐνδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτοις Πεισιστράτου, μηχανῶνται δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ πρῆγμα εὐηθέστατον, ὥς ἐγὼ εὐρίσκω, μακρῷ, ἐπεὶ γε ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν εὖν καὶ δεξιώτερον καὶ εὐηθείης ἡλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον, εἰ καὶ τότε γε οὗτοι ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι τοῖσι πρῶτοις λεγομένοις εἶναι Ἑλλήνων σοφίην μηχανῶνται τοιαῦδε. ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Παιανίῳ ἦν γυνὴ τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Φύη, μέγαθος ἀπὸ τεσσέρων πηχέων ἀπολείπουσα τρεῖς δακτύλους καὶ ἄλλως εὐειδής· ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα σκευάσαντες πανοπλίῃ, ἐς ἄρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα οἷόν τι ἔμελλε εὐπρεπέστατον φανέεσθαι ἔχουσα, ἤλαντον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, προδρόμους κήρυκας προπέμψαντες· οἱ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἡγόρευον ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, λέγοντες τοιαῦδε· "ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, δέκεσθε ἀγαθῷ νόῳ Πεισίστρατον, τὸν



with Pisistratus rose and took the Acropolis; and Pisistratus ruled the Athenians, disturbing in no way the order of offices nor changing the laws, but governing the city according to its established constitution and ordering all things fairly and well.

60. But after no long time the faction of Megacles and Lycurgus made common cause and drove him out. Thus did Pisistratus first win Athens, and thus did he lose his sovereignty, which was not yet firmly rooted. Presently his enemies who had driven him out began once more to be at feud together. Megacles then, being buffeted about by faction, sent a message to Pisistratus offering him his daughter to wife and the sovereign power besides. This offer being accepted by Pisistratus, who agreed on these terms with Megacles, they devised a plan to bring Pisistratus back, which, to my mind, was so exceeding foolish that it is strange (seeing that from old times the Hellenic has ever been distinguished from the foreign stock by its greater cleverness and its freedom from silly foolishness) that these men should devise such a plan to deceive Athenians, said to be the cunningest of the Greeks. There was in the Paeanian deme<sup>1</sup> a woman called Phya, three fingers short of four cubits in stature, and for the rest fair to look upon. This woman they equipped in full armour, and put her in a chariot, giving her all such appurtenances as would make the seemliest show, and so drove into the city; heralds ran before them, and when they came into the town made proclamation as they were charged, bidding the Athenians "to give a hearty welcome to Pisistratus, whom Athene

<sup>1</sup> Local division of Attica:

αὐτὴ ἡ Ἀθηναίη τιμήσασα ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα  
κατάγει ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῆς ἀκρόπολιν." οἱ μὲν δὲ  
ταῦτα διαφοιτέοντες ἔλεγον· αὐτίκα δὲ ἔς τε τοὺς  
δήμους φάτις ἀπίκετο ὡς Ἀθηναίη Πεισίστρατον  
κατάγει, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναῖκα  
εἶναι αὐτὴν τὴν θεὸν προσεύχοντο τε τὴν ἄν-  
θρωπον καὶ ἐδέκοντο Πεισίστρατον.

61. Ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τῷ  
εἰρημένῳ ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίην τὴν  
πρὸς Μεγακλέα γενομένην γαμέει τοῦ Μεγακλέος  
τὴν θυγατέρα. οἱ δὲ παίδων τέ οἱ ὑπαρχόντων  
νεηνιέων καὶ λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν Ἀλκ-  
μεωνιδέων, οὐ βουλόμενός οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς  
νεογάμου γυναικὸς τέκνα ἐμίσγητό οἱ οὐ κατὰ  
νόμον. τὰ μὲν νυν πρῶτα ἔκρυπτε ταῦτα ἡ γυνή,  
μετὰ δὲ εἴτε ἱστορεύσῃ εἴτε καὶ οὐ φράζει τῇ  
ἐωυτῆς μητρὶ, ἢ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρί. ὀργῇ δὲ ὡς εἶχε  
καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἐχθρὴν τοῖσι στασιώτησι.  
μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Πεισίστρατος τὰ ποιεύμενα ἐπ' ἐωυτῷ  
ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας τὸ παράπαν, ἀπικό-  
μενος δὲ ἐς Ἑρέτριαν ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα τοῖσι παισὶ.  
Ἰππίεω δὲ γνώμῃ νικήσαντος ἀνακτᾶσθαι ὀπίσω  
τὴν τυραννίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ἤγειρον δωτίνας ἐκ τῶν  
πολίων αἰτινὲς σφὶ προαιδέοντό κού τι. πολλῶν  
δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα, Θηβαῖοι ὑπερε-  
βάλοντο τῇ δόσι τῶν χρημάτων. μετὰ δέ, οὐ  
πολλῷ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, χρόνος διέφυ καὶ πάντα σφὶ  
ἐξήρτυτο ἐς τὴν κάτοδον· καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μισ-  
θωτοὶ ἀπίκοντο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, καὶ Νάξιός σφὶ  
ἀνὴρ ἀπιγμένος ἐθελοντῆς, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Λύγ-  
δαμῖς, προθυμίην πλείστην παρείχετο, κομίσας  
καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνδρας.

herself honoured beyond all men and was bringing back to her own citadel." So the heralds went about and spoke thus: immediately it was reported in the demes that Athene was bringing Pisistratus back, and the townsfolk, persuaded that the woman was indeed the goddess, worshipped this human creature and welcomed Pisistratus.

61. Having won back his sovereignty in the manner which I have shown, Pisistratus married Megacles' daughter according to his agreement with Megacles. But as he had already young sons, and the Alcmeonid family were said to be under a curse, he had no wish that his newly wed wife should bear him children, and therefore had wrongful intercourse with her. At first the woman hid the matter: presently she told her mother (whether being asked or not, I know not) and the mother told her husband. Megacles was very angry that Pisistratus should do him dishonour: and in his wrath he made up his quarrel with the other faction. Pisistratus, learning what was afoot, went by himself altogether away from the country, and came to Eretria, where he took counsel with his sons. The counsel of Hippias prevailing, that they should recover the sovereignty, they set to collecting gifts from all cities which owed them some requital. Many of these gave great sums, the Thebans more than any, and in course of time, not to make a long story, all was ready for their return: for they brought Argive mercenaries from Peloponnesus, and there came also of his own free will a man of Naxos called Lygdamis, who was most zealous in their cause and brought them money and men.

62. Ἐξ Ἑρετρίας δὲ ὀρμηθέντες διὰ ἑνδεκάτον ἔτεος ἀπίκοντο ὀπίσω, καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἴσχουσι Μαραθῶνα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ σφί στρατοπεδευομένοισι οἳ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος στασιῶται ἀπίκοντο ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δήμων προσέρρεον, τοῖσι ἡ τυραννὶς πρὸ ἐλευθερίας ἦν ἀσπαστότερον. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ συνηλίζοντο, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, ἕως μὲν Πεισίστρατος τὰ χρήματα ἤγειρε, καὶ μεταῦτις ὥς ἔσχε Μαραθῶνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἶχον· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθῶνος αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, οὕτω δὴ βοηθεοῦσι ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ οὗτοί τε πανστρατιῇ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατιόντας, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὡς ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθῶνος ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἐς τὸντο συνιόντες ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἱρόν, καὶ ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα. ἐνθαῦτα θείῃ πομπῇ χρεώμενος παρίσταται Πεισιστράτῳ Ἀμφίλυτος ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν χρησμολόγος ἀνὴρ, ὃς οἱ προσιῶν χρῆ ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε λέγων·

“Ἐρριπται δ' ὁ βόλος, τὸ δὲ δίκτυον ἐκπεπέτασται, θύννοι δ' οἰμήσουσι σεληναίης διὰ νυκτός.”

63. Ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐνθεάζων χρῆ τάδε, Πεισίστρατος δὲ συλλαβὼν τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ φὰς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπῆγε τὴν στρατιήν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ τηνικαῦτα, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πρὸς κύβους οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὕπνον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἐσπесόντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τράπουσι. φευγόντων δὲ τούτων βουλὴν ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην Πεισίστρατος ἐπιτε-



62. So after ten years they set out from Eretria and returned home. The first place in Attica which they took and held was Marathon: and while encamped there they were joined by their partisans from the city, and by others who flocked to them from the country demes—men who loved the rule of one more than freedom. These, then, assembled; but the Athenians in the city, who, while Pisistratus was collecting money and afterwards when he had taken Marathon, made no account of it, did now, when they learnt that he was marching from Marathon against Athens, set out to attack him. They came out with all their force to meet the returning exiles. Pisistratus' men, in their march from Marathon towards the city, encountered the enemy when they had reached the temple of Pallenian Athene, and encamped face to face with them. There (by the providence of heaven) Pisistratus met Amphilytus the Acarnanian, a diviner, who came to him and prophesied as follows in hexameter verses:

"Now hath the cast been thrown and the net of the fisher is outspread:  
All in the moonlight clear shall the tunny-fish come for the taking."

63. So spoke Amphilytus, being inspired; Pisistratus understood him, and, saying that he received the prophecy, led his army against the enemy. The Athenians of the city had at this time gone to their breakfast, and after breakfast some betook themselves to dicing and some to sleep: they were attacked by Pisistratus' men and put to flight. So they fled, and Pisistratus devised a very subtle plan to keep

χνᾶται, ὅπως μήτε ἀλισθεῖεν ἔτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσκεδασμένοι τε εἶεν ἀναβιβάσας τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἵππους προέπεμπε, οἱ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φεύγοντας ἔλεγον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσέειν τε κελεύοντες καὶ ἀπιέναι ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ.

64. Πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὕτω δὴ Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχὼν Ἀθήνας ἐρρίζωσε τὴν τυρρανίδα ἐπικούροισι τε πολλοῖσι καὶ χρημάτων συνόδοισι, τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ συνιόντων, ὁμήρους τε τῶν παραμεινάντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα φυγόντων παῖδας λαβὼν καὶ καταστήσας ἐς Νάξον (καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατεστρέψατο πολέμῳ καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Λυγδάμῃ), πρὸς τε ἔτι τούτοισι τὴν νῆσον Δῆλον καθήρας ἐκ τῶν λογίων, καθήρας δὲ ὧδε ἐπ' ὅσον ἔποψις τοῦ ἱροῦ εἶχε, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς μετεφόρει ἐς ἄλλον χώρον τῆς Δήλου. καὶ Πεισίστρατος μὲν ἐτυράννευε Ἀθηνέων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν μετ' Ἀλκμεωνιδέων ἔφευγον ἐκ τῆς οἰκῆις.

65. Τοὺς μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίους τοιαῦτα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος κατέχοντα, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ κακῶν τε μεγάλων πεφευγότας καὶ ἔοντας ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατυπερτέρους Τεγεγτέων. ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος βασιλεύοντος καὶ Ἥγησικλέος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυχέοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Τεγεγῆτας μόνους προσέπταιον. τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων καὶ κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν σχεδὸν πάντων Ἑλλήνων κατὰ τε σφέας αὐτοὺς καὶ ξείνοισι ἀπρόσμι-

them scattered and prevent their assembling again : he mounted his sons and bade them ride forward : they overtook the fugitives and spoke to them as they were charged by Pisistratus, bidding them take heart and depart each man to his home.

64. This the Athenians did ; and by this means Pisistratus gained Athens for the third time, where, that his sovereignty might be well rooted, he made himself a strong guard and collected revenue both from Athens and from the district of the river Strymon, and took as hostages the sons of the Athenians who remained and did not at once leave the city, and placed these in Naxos. (He had conquered Naxos too and given it in charge to Lygdamis.) Moreover, he purified the island of Delos according to the bidding of the oracles, and this is how he did it : he removed all the dead that were buried in ground within sight of the temple and carried them to another part of Delos. So Pisistratus was sovereign of Athens : and as for the Athenians, some had fallen in the battle, and some, with the Alcmeonids, were exiles from their native land.

65. Croesus learnt, then, that such at this time was the plight of the Athenians : the Lacedaemonians, as he heard, had escaped from great calamities, and had by this time got the upper hand of the men of Tegea in their war ; for in the kingship of Leon and Hegesicles at Sparta, the Lacedaemonians were victorious in their other wars, but against Tegea alone they met with no success. And not only so, but before this they were the worst governed of well nigh all the Greeks, having little intercourse among themselves or with strangers.

κτοι· μετέβαλον δὲ ὧδε ἐς εὐνομήην. Λυκούργου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων δοκίμου ἀνδρὸς ἐλθόντος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὡς ἐσήμε ἐς τὸ μέγαρον, εὐθύς ἡ Πυθίη λέγει τάδε.

“ Ἦκεις ὦ Λυκούργε ἐμὸν ποτὶ πίονα νηὸν  
Ζηνὶ φίλος καὶ πᾶσιν Ὀλύμπια δώματ’ ἔχουσι.  
δίξω ἢ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι ἢ ἄνθρωπον.  
ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν ἔλπομαι, ὦ Λυκούργε.”

οἱ μὲν δὴ τινες πρὸς τούτοις λέγουσι καὶ φράσαι αὐτῷ τὴν Πυθίην τὸν νῦν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιήτησι· ὡς δ’ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λυκούργον ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Λεωβώτῳ, ἀδελφιδέου μὲν ἑωυτοῦ βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιητέων, ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγαγέσθαι ταῦτα. ὡς γὰρ ἐπετροπεύσε τάχιστα, μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα, καὶ ἐφύλαξε ταῦτα μὴ παραβαίνειν· μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας καὶ τριηκάδας καὶ συσσίτια, πρὸς τε τούτοις τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας ἔστησε Λυκούργος.

66. Οὕτω μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν, τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἱρὸν εἰσάμενοι σέβονται μεγάλως. οἷα δὲ ἐν τε χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθηνήθησαν, καὶ δὴ σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χώρῃ. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι χρεῖ τάδε.



Thus then they changed their laws for the better :—  
 Lycurgus, a notable Spartan, visited the oracle at  
 Delphi, and when he entered the temple hall,  
 straightway the priestess gave him this response :

“Dear to Zeus thou hast come to my well-stored  
 temple, Lycurgus,  
 Dear to Zeus and to all who dwell in the courts of  
 Olympus.  
 Art thou a man or a god ? ’Tis a god I deem thee,  
 Lycurgus.”

Some say that the priestess moreover declared to  
 him the whole governance of Sparta which is now  
 established ; but the Lacedaemonians themselves  
 relate that it was from Crete that Lycurgus brought  
 these changes, he being then guardian of Leobotes  
 his nephew, king of Sparta. As soon as he became  
 guardian he changed all the laws of the country and  
 was careful that none should transgress his ordi-  
 nances, and afterwards it was Lycurgus who estab-  
 lished all that related to war, the sworn companies,  
 and the bands of thirty, and the common meals :  
 and besides these, the ephors, and the council of  
 elders.

66. So they changed their bad laws for good ones,  
 and when Lycurgus died they built him a shrine  
 and now greatly revere him. Then, since their land  
 was good and their men were many, very soon they  
 began to flourish and prosper. Nor were they  
 satisfied to remain at peace : but being assured that  
 they were stronger than the Arcadians, they inquired  
 of the oracle at Delphi, with their minds set on the  
 whole of Arcadia. The Pythian priestess gave them  
 this reply :

“ Ἀρκαδίην μ' αἰτεῖς· μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς· οὐ τοι δώσω. πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν, οἳ σ' ἀποκωλύσουσιν. ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὔτι μεγαίρω· δώσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι καὶ καλὸν πεδίων σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.”

ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀρκαδῶν μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο, οἳ δὲ πέδας φερόμενοι ἐπὶ Τεγεήτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῷ κιβδηλῶ πίσυνοι, ὡς δὴ ἐξανδραποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐξωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐτοὶ καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίων τὸ Τεγεητέων ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὐταὶ ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σόαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης κρεμάμεναι.

67. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον συνεχέως αἰεὶ κακῶς ἀέθλεον πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἀναξανδρίδεώ τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιλῆην ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἤδη οἱ Σπαρτιῆται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγεγόνεσαν, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε γενόμενοι. ἐπειδὴ αἰεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐσσοῦντο ὑπὸ Τεγεητέων, πέμψαντες θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τίνα ἂν θεῶν ἱλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων γενοίαιτο. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφί ἐχρησε τὰ Ὀρέστω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὁστέα ἐπαγαγομένους. ὡς δὲ

"Askest Arcadia from me? 'Tis a boon too great  
for the giving.

Many Arcadians there are, stout heroes, eaters of  
acorns,—

These shall hinder thee sore. Yet 'tis not I that  
begrudge thee:

Lands Tegeæan I'll give thee, to smite with feet in  
the dancing,

Also the fertile plain with line I'll give thee to  
measure."

When this was brought back to the ears of the Lacedæmonians, they let the rest of the Arcadians be, and marched against the men of Tegea carrying fetters with them; for they trusted in the quibbling oracle and thought they would enslave the Tegeans. But they were worsted in the encounter, and those of them who were taken captive were made to till the Tegean plain, wearing the fetters which they themselves had brought and measuring the land with a line.<sup>1</sup> These fetters, in which they were bound, were still in my time kept safe at Tegea, where they were hung round the temple of Athene Alca.

67. In the former war, then, the Lacedæmonians were unceasingly defeated in their contest with Tegea; but in the time of Croesus, and the kingship of Anaxandrides and Ariston at Sparta, the Spartans had now gained the upper hand; and this is how it came about. Being always worsted by the Tegeatae, they sent inquirers to Delphi and asked what god they should propitiate so as to gain the mastery over Tegea in war. The Pythian priestess declared that they must bring home the bones of Orestes son of Agamemnon. Being unable to discover Orestes'

<sup>1</sup> That is, mapping the land out for cultivation.

ἀνευρεῖν οὐκ οἶοί τε ἐγίνοντο τὴν θήκην τοῦ Ὀρέστω, ἔπεμπον αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐς θεὸν ἐπειρησόμενους τὸν χώρον ἐν τῷ κέοιτο Ὀρέστης. εἰρωτῶσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι λέγει ἡ Πυθίη τάδε.

“Ἔστι τις Ἀρκαδίας Τεγέη λευρῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ,  
 ἔνθ’ ἄνεμοι πνέουσιν δύω κρατερῆς ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης,  
 καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ’ ἐπὶ πῆματι  
 κείται.

ἔνθ’ Ἀγαμεμνονίδην κατέχει φυσίζοος αἶα,  
 τὸν σὺ κομισσάμενος Τεγέης ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσση.”

ὥς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀπειχόν τῆς ἐξευρέσεως οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, πάντα διζήμενοι, ἐς οὗ δὴ Δίχης τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλεομένων Σπαρτιητέων ἀνεῦρε. οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσὶ τῶν ἀστῶν, ἐξιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων αἰεὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, πέντε ἔτεος ἐκάστου τοὺς δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, τὸν ἂν ἐξίωσι ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων, Σπαρτιητέων τῷ κοινῷ διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἐλινύειν ἄλλους ἄλλῃ.

68. Τούτων ὢν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Δίχης ἀνεῦρε ἐν Τεγέῃ καὶ συντυχίῃ χρησάμενος καὶ σοφίῃ. εὐούσης γὰρ τοῦτον τὰν χρόνον ἐπιμειξίης πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, ἐλθὼν ἐς χαλκήμιον ἐθηεῖτο σίδηρον ἐξελαυνόμενον, καὶ ἐν θώματι ἦν ὀρέων τὸ ποιεόμενον. μαθὼν δέ μιν ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀποθωμάζοντα εἶπε παυσάμενος τοῦ ἔργου “Ἡ κου ἄν, ὦ ξεῖνε Λάκων, εἴ περ εἶδες τό περ ἐγώ, κάρτα ἂν ἐθώ-



tomb, they sent their messengers again to the god<sup>1</sup> to ask of the place where Orestes lay: and the priestess said in answer to their question:

"There is a place, Tegeë, in the level plain of Arcadia,  
Where by stark stress driven twain winds are ever a-blowing,  
Shock makes answer to shock, and anguish is laid upon anguish.  
There in the nourishing earth Agamemnon's son lieth buried:  
Bring him, and so thou shalt be the lord of the land of thy foemen."

When the Lacedaemonians heard this too, they were no nearer finding what they sought, though they made search everywhere, till at last Lichas, one of the Spartans who are called Benefactors, discovered it. These Benefactors are the Spartan citizens who pass out of the ranks of the knights, the five oldest in each year; for the year in which they pass out from the knights they are sent on divers errands by the Spartan state, and must use all despatch.

68. Lichas, then, one of these men, by good luck and cleverness found the tomb at Tegea. At that time there was free intercourse with Tegea; so, entering a smithy, he watched the forging of iron and marvelled at the work which he saw. When the smith perceived that he was much astonished, he ceased from working, and said, "Laconian, you wonder at the working of iron, but had you seen what

<sup>1</sup> τῆς ἐκ θεῶν, explained as = τῆς ἐκ θεῶν δδόν. τῆς ἐκ θεῶν (= the inspired one: after ἐκείνησιν) would be an easy correction. But all MSS. have ἐκ θεῶν.

μαζες, ὅκου νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θῶμα ποιούμενος τὴν ἐργασίην τοῦ σιδήρου. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῇδε θέλων τῇ αὐλῇ φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, ὀρύσσων ἐπέτυχον σορῶ ἐπταπήχει· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπιστίας μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι μηδαμὰ μέζονας ἀνθρώπους τῶν νῦν ἀνοιξα αὐτὴν καὶ εἶδον τὸν νεκρὸν μήκει ἴσον ἔοντα τῇ σορῶ· μετρήσας δὲ συνέχωσα ὀπίσω." ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἔλεγε τά περ ὀπώπее, ὁ δὲ ἐννώσας τὰ λεγόμενα συνεβάλλετο τὸν Ὀρέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τοῦτον εἶναι, τῇδε συμβαλλόμενος τοῦ χαλκέος δύο ὀρέων φύσας τοὺς ἀνέμους εὗρισκε ἔοντας, τὸν δὲ ἄκμονα καὶ τὴν σφῦραν τόν τε τύπον καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον, τὸν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενον σίδηρον τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πῆματι κείμενον, κατὰ τοιόνδε τι εἰκίζων, ὥς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνεύρηται. συμβαλλόμενος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Σπάρτην ἔφραζε Λακεδαιμονίοισι πᾶν τὸ πρήγμα. οἱ δὲ ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ ἐπενείκαντές οἱ αἰτίην ἐδίωξαν. ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Τεγέην καὶ φράζων τὴν ἐωυτοῦ συμφορὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκέα ἐμισθοῦτο παρ' οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλήν· χρόνος δὲ ὥς ἀνέγνωσε, ἐνοικίσθη, ἀνορύξας δὲ τὸν τάφον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα συλλέξας οἶχετο φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου, ὅπως πειρώατο ἀλλήλων, πολλῶ κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἤδη δέ σφι καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμμένη.

69. Ταῦτα δὴ ὦν πάντα πυνθανόμενος ὁ Κροῖσος ἔπεμπε ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους δῶρά τε φέροντας καὶ δεησομένους συμμαχίης, ἐντειλάμενός τε τὰ λέγειν χρῆν. οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον "Ἐπεμψε ἡμέας Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων

I have seen you would have indeed had somewhat to marvel at. For I was making me a well in this courtyard, when in my digging I chanced upon a coffin seven cubits long. As I could not believe that there had ever been men taller than those of our time, I opened the coffin, and found within it the corpse as long as itself; I measured it, and buried it in earth again." So the smith told what he had seen; Lichas marked what he said, and argued from the oracle that this must be Orestes, reasoning that the Smith's two bellows which he saw were the winds, the anvil and hammer the shock and counter-shock, and the forged iron the anguish laid upon anguish. What led him so to guess was that the discovery of iron has been to men's hurt. Thus he reasoned, and returning to Sparta told all the matter to the Lacedaemonians. They made pretence of bringing a charge against him and banishing him; so he went to Tegea, where he told the smith of his misfortune, and tried to hire the courtyard from him. The smith would not consent, but at last Lichas over-persuaded him, and taking up his abode there, opened the tomb and collected the bones and went away with them to Sparta. Ever after this time the Lacedaemonians got much the better of the men of Tegea in all their battles; and they had already subdued the greater part of the Peloponnesus.

69. Croesus, then, being made aware of all this sent messengers to Sparta with gifts, to ask an alliance in words with which he charged them. They came, and said: "Croesus, King of Lydia and other

βασιλεύς, λέγων τάδε. ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χρῆσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ἑλληνα φίλον προσθέσθαι, ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὑμέας ὧν κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον προσκαλέομαι φίλος τε θέλων γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης." Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα δι' ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀκηκοότες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τὸ Κροίσῳ γενόμενον ἡσθησάν τε τῇ ἀπίξι τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ὄρκια ξεινίης πέρι καὶ συμμαχίης· καὶ γὰρ τινὲς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίαι εἶχον ἐκ Κροίσου πρότερον ἔτι γεγонуῖαι. πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς Σάρδεις χρυσὸν ὠνεόντο, ἐς ἄγαλμα βουλόμενοι χρῆσασθαι τοῦτο τὸ νῦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακι ἱδρυται Ἀπόλλωνος· Κροῖσος δὲ σφί ὠνεομένοισι ἔδωκε δωτίην.

70. Τούτων τε ὧν εἵνεκεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν συμμαχίην ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Ἑλλήνων αἰρέετο φίλους. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι ἐπαγγεῖλαντι, τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάμενοι κρητῆρα χάλκεον ζφδίων τε ἔξωθεν πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος καὶ μεγάλῃ τριηκοσίους ἀμφορέας χωρέοντα ἤγον, δῶρον βουλόμενοι ἀντιδοῦναι Κροίσῳ. οὗτος ὁ κρητὴρ οὐκ ἀπῖκετο ἐς Σάρδεις δι' αἰτίας διφασίας λεγομένας τάσδε· οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι ὥς ἐπεῖτε ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ὁ κρητὴρ ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σαμίνην, πυθόμενοι Σάμιοι ἀπελοίατο αὐτὸν νηυσὶ μακρῇσι ἐπιπλώσαντες· αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι ὥς ἐπεῖτε ὑστέρησαν οἱ ἄγοντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν κρητῆρα, ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ Σάρδεις τε καὶ Κροῖσον ἠλωκέναι, ἀπέδοντο τὸν κρητῆρα ἐν Σάμῳ, ἰδιώτας



nations, has sent us with this message : 'Lacedaemonians ! the god has declared that I should make the Greek my friend ; now, therefore, as I learn that you are the leaders of Hellas, I do so invite you, as the oracle bids ; I would fain be your friend and ally, without deceit or guile.' " Thus Croesus proposed by the mouth of his messengers : and the Lacedaemonians, who had already heard of the oracle given to Croesus, welcomed the coming of the Lydians and swore to be his friends and allies ; and indeed they were bound by certain benefits which they had before received from the king. For the Lacedaemonians had sent to Sardis to buy gold, with intent to use it for the statue of Apollo which now stands on Thornax<sup>1</sup> in Laconia ; and Croesus, when they would buy it, made a free gift of it to them.

70. For this cause, and because he had chosen them as his friends before all other Greeks, the Lacedaemonians accepted the alliance. So they declared themselves ready to serve him when he should require, and moreover they made a bowl of bronze, graven outside round the rim with figures, and large enough to hold twenty-seven hundred gallons, and brought it with the intent to make a gift of requital to Croesus. This bowl never came to Sardis, and for this two reasons are given : the Lacedaemonians say that when the bowl was near Samos on its way to Sardis, the Samians descended upon them in warships and carried it off ; but the Samians themselves say that the Lacedaemonians who were bringing the bowl, being too late, and learning that Sardis and Croesus were taken, sold it in Samos to certain private

<sup>1</sup> A mountain north-east of Sparta, overlooking the Eurotas valley.

δὲ ἄνδρας πριαμένους ἀναθεῖναι μιν εἰς τὸ "Ηραιον. τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν ἀπικόμενοι εἰς Σπάρτην ὡς ἀπαιρεθείησαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. κατὰ μὲν νυν τὸν κρητῆρα οὕτω ἔσχε.

71. Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐποιέετο στρατηγίην εἰς Καππαδοκίην, ἐλπίσας καταιρήσειν Κῦρόν τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν. παρασκευαζομένου δὲ Κροίσου στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, τῶν τις Λυδῶν νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθε εἶναι σοφός, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα οὔνομα ἐν Λυδοῖσι ἔχων, συνεβούλευσε Κροίσῳ τάδε οὔνομά οἱ ἦν Σάνδανις. "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπ' ἄνδρας τοιούτους στρατεύεσθαι παρασκευάζεαι, οἱ σκυτίνας μὲν ἀναξυρίδας σκυτίνην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἐσθῆτα φορέουσι, σιτέονται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐθέλουσι ἀλλ' ὅσα ἔχουσι, χώρην ἔχοντες τρηχέαν. πρὸς δὲ οὐκ οἶνω διαχρέωνται ἀλλὰ ὕδροποτέουσι, οὐ σῦκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. τοῦτο μὲν δῆ, εἰ νικήσεις, τί σφέας ἀπαιρήσειαι, τοῖσί γε μὴ ἔστι μηδέν; τοῦτο δέ, ἦν νικηθῆς, μάθε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἀποβαλέεις· γευσάμενοι γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν περιέξονται οὐδὲ ἀπωστοὶ ἔσονται. ἐγὼ μὲν νυν θεοῖσι ἔχω χάριν, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον ποιέουσι Πέρσῃσι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Λυδοῦς." ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Κροῖσον. Πέρσῃσι γάρ, πρὶν Λυδοὺς καταστρέψασθαι, ἦν οὔτε ἄβρὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν.

72. Οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σύριοι ὀνομάζονται· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἢ Πέρσας ἄρξαι Μήδων κατήκοοι, τότε δὲ Κυρου. ὁ γὰρ οὗρος ἦν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς ἀρχῆς

men, who set it up in the temple of Here. And it may be that the sellers of the bowl, when they returned to Sparta, said that they had been robbed of it by the Samians. Such are the tales about the bowl.

71. Croesus, mistaking the meaning of the oracle, invaded Cappadocia, thinking to destroy Cyrus and the Persian power. But while he was preparing to march against the Persians, a certain Lydian, who was already held to be a wise man, and from the advice which he now gave won great renown among the Lydians, thus counselled him (his name was Sandanis): "O King, you are making ready to march against men who wear breeches of leather and their other garments of the same, and whose fare is not what they desire but what they have; for their land is stony. Further they use no wine, but are water-drinkers, nor have they figs to eat, nor aught else that is good. Now if you conquer them, of what will you deprive them, seeing that they have nothing? But if on the other hand you are conquered, then see how many good things you will lose; for once they have tasted of our blessings they will cling so close to them that nothing will thrust them away. For myself, then, I thank the gods that they do not put it in the hearts of the Persians to march against the Lydians." Thus spoke Sandanis; for the Persians, before they subdued the Lydians, had no luxury and no comforts; but he did not move Croesus.

72. Now the Cappadocians are called by the Greeks Syrians, and these Syrians before the Persian rule were subjects of the Medes, and, at this time, of Cyrus. For the boundary of the Median

καὶ τῆς Λυδικῆς ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός, ὃς ῥέει ἐξ Ἀρμενίου ὄρεος διὰ Κιλικίων, μετὰ δὲ Ματιηνοὺς μὲν ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχει ῥέων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου Φρύγας· παραμειβόμενος δὲ τούτους καὶ ῥέων ἄνω πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἔνθεν μὲν Συρίους Καππαδόκας ἀπέργει, ἐξ εὐωνύμου δὲ Παφλαγόνας. οὕτω ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμὸς ἀποτάμνει σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς Ἀσίης τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίον Κύπρου ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον. ἔστι δὲ αὐχὴν οὗτος τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπάσης· μῆκος ὁδοῦ εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ πέντε ἡμέραι ἀναισιμούνται.

73. Ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίην τῶνδε εἵνεκα, καὶ γῆς ἱμέρῳ προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ μοῖραν βουλόμενος, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίσυνος εὖν καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυάγεος Κῦρον. Ἀστυάγεα γὰρ τὸν Κναξάρεω, ὄντα Κροῖσον μὲν γαμβρὸν Μήδων δὲ βασιλέα, Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω καταστρεψάμενος εἶχε, γενόμενον γαμβρὸν Κροίσῳ ὧδε. Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων εἴλη ἀνδρῶν στασιάσασα ὑπεξῆλθε ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν· ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Μήδων Κναξαρῆς ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηϊόκεω, ὃς τοὺς Σκύθας τούτους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περιείπε εὖ ὥς ὄντας ἱκετας· ὥστε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιόμενος αὐτοὺς, παῖδάς σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσάν τε ἐκμαθεῖν καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ αἰεὶ φοιτεόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπ' ἄγρην καὶ αἰεὶ τι φερόντων, καὶ κοτε συνήρεικε ἐλεῖν σφείας μὴδέν· νοστήσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς κεινῆσι

<sup>1</sup> τῆς Ἀσίης τὰ κάτω means here and elsewhere in Hdt. the western part of Asia, west of the Halys (Kizil Irmak). The



and Lydian empires was the river Halys; which flows from the Armenian mountains first through Cilicia and afterwards between the Matieni on the right and the Phrygians on the other hand; then passing these and flowing still northwards it separates the Cappadocian Syrians on the right from the Paphlagonians on the left. Thus the Halys river cuts off wellnigh the whole of the lower part of Asia, from the Cyprian to the Euxine sea. Here is the narrowest neck of all this land; the length of the journey across is five days, for a man going unburdened.<sup>1</sup>

73. The reasons of Croesus' expedition against Cappadocia were these: he desired to gain territory in addition to his own share, and (these were the chief causes) he trusted the oracle, and wished to avenge Astyages on Cyrus; for Cyrus, son of Cambyses, had subdued Astyages and held him in subjection. Now Astyages, king of Media, son of Cyaxares, was Croesus' brother-in-law: and this is how he came to be so. A tribe of wandering Scythians separated itself from the rest, and escaped into Median territory. This was then ruled by Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, son of Deioces. Cyaxares at first treated the Scythians kindly, as being suppliants for his mercy; and as he held them in high regard he entrusted boys to their charge to be taught their language and the craft of archery. As time went on, it chanced that the Scythians, who were wont to go hunting and ever to bring something back, once had taken nothing, and when they returned width from sea to sea of the *ἀντήρ* is obviously much underestimated by Hdt., as also by later writers; the actual distance at the narrowest part is about 280 miles as the crow flies; much more than a five days' march.

χερσὶ ὁ Κναξάρης (ἦν γάρ, ὡς διέδεξε, ὀργὴν ἄκρος) τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε ἀεικείη. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Κναξάρειω παθόντες, ὥστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, ἐβούλευσαν τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παίδων ἓνα κατακόψαι, σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἐώθεσαν καὶ τὰ θηρία σκευάζειν, Κναξάρη δοῦναι φέροντες ὡς ἄγρην δῆθεν, δόντες δὲ τὴν ταχίστην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα τὸν Σαδυνάττειω ἐς Σάρδεις. ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ Κναξάρης καὶ οἱ παρεόντες δαιτυμόνες τῶν κρεῶν τούτων ἐπάσαντο, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ποιήσαντες Ἀλυάττειω ἰκέται ἐγένοντο.

74. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐξεδίδου τοὺς Σκύθας ἐξαιτέοντι Κναξάρη, πόλεμος τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγεγόνει ἐπ' ἕτεα πέντε, ἐν τοῖσι πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐνίκησαν, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς Μήδους, ἐν δὲ καὶ νυκτομαχίην τινὰ ἐποιήσαντο· διαφέρουσι δὲ σφί ἐπὶ ἴσης τὸν πόλεμον τῷ ἔκτῳ ἔτει συμβολῆς γενομένης συνήνεικε ὥστε τῆς μάχης συνεστεώσης τὴν ἡμέρην ἐξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι Ἰωσι προηγόρευσε ἔσεσθαι, οὖρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τούτον ἐν τῷ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι ἐπείτε εἶδον νύκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρης γενομένην, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαύσαντο καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἔσπευσαν καὶ ἀμφότεροι εἰρήνην ἐωυτοῖσι γενέσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> All evidence, historical and astronomical, fixes the date of this eclipse as May 28, 585 B.C. There was another eclipse of the sun in Alyattes' reign, on Sept. 30, 610; but it appears

empty-handed, Cyaxares (being, as hereby appeared, prone to anger) treated them very roughly and despitefully. The Scythians, deeming themselves wronged by the usage they had from Cyaxares, plotted to take one of the boys who were their pupils and cut him in pieces, then, dressing the flesh as they were wont to dress the animals which they killed, to bring and give it to Cyaxares as if it were the spoils of the chase; and after that, to make their way with all speed to Alyattes son of Sadyattes at Sardis. All this they did. Cyaxares and the guests who feasted with him ate of the boy's flesh, and the Scythians, having done as they planned, fled to Alyattes for protection.

74. After this, seeing that Alyattes would not give up the Scythians to Cyaxares at his demand, there was war between the Lydians and the Medes for five years; each won many victories over the other, and once they fought a battle by night. They were still warring with equal success, when it chanced, at an encounter which happened in the sixth year, that during the battle the day was suddenly turned to night. Thales of Miletus had foretold this loss of daylight to the Ionians, fixing it within the year in which the change did indeed happen.<sup>1</sup> So when the Lydians and Medes saw the day turned to night they ceased from fighting, and both were the more zealous to make that this latter was not total in Asia Minor; and Pliny's mention of the phenomenon places it in the 170th year from the foundation of Rome. Thales died at an advanced age in 548 B.C.

οἱ δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἦσαν οἷδε, Σύννεσις τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ Λαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος. οὗτοί σφι καὶ τὸ ὄρκιον οἱ σπεύσαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν ἐποίησαν. Ἀλυάττεα γὰρ ἔγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀρύηνιν Ἀστυάγει τῷ Κναζάρειω παιδί. ἄνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσεις ἰσχυραὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν. ὄρκια δὲ ποιεῖται ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ πέρ τε Ἕλληνες, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ἐπεὰν τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπιτάμονται ἐς τὴν ὁμοχροίην, τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων.

75. Τούτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἀστυάγεα Κῦρος ἔοντα ἑωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα καταστρεψάμενος ἔσχε δι' αἰτίην τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπίσω λόγοις σημανέν. τὰ Κροῖσος ἐπιμεμφόμενος τῷ Κύρῳ ἔς τε τὰ χρηστήρια ἔπεμπε εἰ στρατεῦνται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου, ἐλπίσας πρὸς ἑωυτοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατεύετο ἐς τὴν Περσέων μοῖραν. ὥς δὲ ἀπίκητο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς ἐούσας γεφύρας διεβίβασε τὸν στρατόν, ὥς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἑλλήνων, Θαλῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος διεβίβασε. ἀπορέοντος γὰρ Κροίσου ὅπως οἱ διαβήσεται τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατός (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναι κω τούτον τὸν χρόνον τὰς γεφύρας ταύτας) λέγεται παρεόντα τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ῥέοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥεῖν, ποιῆσαι δὲ ὧδε ἄνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀρξάμενον διώρυχα βαθέαν ὀρύσσειν, ἄγοντα μνηοειδέα, ὅπως ἂν τὸ στρατοπέδον ἰδρυμένον κατὰ νώτου λάβοι, ταύτῃ κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα



peace. Those who reconciled them were Syennesis the Cilician and Labynetus the Babylonian; they it was who brought it about that there should be a sworn agreement and an exchange of wedlock between them: they adjudged that Alyattes should give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages, son of Cyaxares; for without a strong bond agreements will not keep their strength. These nations make sworn compacts as do the Greeks; moreover, they cut the skin of their arms and lick each other's blood.

75. This Astyages then was Cyrus' mother's father, and was by him subdued and held subject for the reason which I shall presently declare. Having this cause of quarrel with Cyrus, Croesus sent to ask the oracles if he should march against the Persians; and when a quibbling answer came he thought it to be favourable to him, and so led his army to the Persian territory. When he came to the river Halys, he transported his army across it,—by the bridges, as I hold, which then were there; but the general belief of the Greeks is that the army was carried across by Thales of Miletus. This is the story: As the bridges aforesaid did not then yet exist, Croesus knew not how his army should pass the river: then Thales, being in the encampment, made the river, which flowed on the left hand, flow also on the right of the army in the following way. Starting from a point on the river higher up than the camp, he dug a deep semicircular trench, so that the stream, turned from its ancient course, should flow in the trench to the rear of the

ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥέεθρων, καὶ αὐτὶς παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐσβάλλοι· ὥστε ἐπεῖτε καὶ ἐσχίσθη τάχιστα ὁ ποταμός, ἀμφοτέρῃ διαβατὸς ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηρανθῆναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσίεμαι· κῶς γὰρ ὁπίσω πορευόμενοι διέβησαν αὐτόν;

76. Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπεῖτε διαβὰς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπίκητο τῆς Καππαδοκίης εἰς τὴν Πτερίην καλεομένην (ἡ δὲ Πτερίη ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης τὸ<sup>1</sup> ἰσχυρότατον, κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐν Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ μάλιστά κη κειμένη), ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύετο φθειρών τῶν Συρίων τοὺς κλήρους· καὶ εἶλε μὲν τῶν Πτερίων τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἡνδραποδίσσατο, εἶλε δὲ τὰς περιοικίδας αὐτῆς πάσας, Συρίους τε οὐδὲν ἔοντας αἰτίους ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε. Κῦρος δὲ ἀγείρας τὸν ἑωυτοῦ στρατὸν καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς μεταξὺ οἰκέοντας πάντας ἡντιοῦτο Κροίσῳ. πρὶν δὲ ἐξελαύνειν ὁρμήσαι τὸν στρατόν, πέμψας κήρυκας εἰς τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐπειράτο σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου ἀπιστάναι. Ἴωνες μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο· Κῦρος δὲ ὡς ἀπίκητο καὶ ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροίσῳ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ χώρα ἐπειρῶντο κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἀλλήλων. μάχης δὲ καρτερῆς γενομένης καὶ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικῆσαντες διέστησαν νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα ἀμφοτέρα οὕτω ἡγωνίσσατο.

77. Κροῖσος δὲ μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἑωυτοῦ στράτευμα (ἦν γὰρ οἱ ὁ συμβαλὼν στρατὸς πολλὸν ἐλάσσων ἢ ὁ Κῦρου), τοῦτο μεμφθεὶς, ὡς

<sup>1</sup> [τδ] Stein.

camp, and, again passing it, should issue into its former bed, so that, as soon as the river was thus divided into two, both channels could be forded. Some even say that the ancient channel was altogether dried up. But I do not believe this; for how then did they pass the river when they were returning?

76. Croesus then passing over with his army came to the part of Cappadocia called Pteria (it is the strongest part of this country and lies nearest to the city of Sinope on the Euxine sea), where he encamped, and laid waste the farms of the Syrians; and he took and enslaved the city of the Pterians, and took also all the places about it, and drove the Syrians from their homes, though they had done him no harm. Cyrus, mustering his army, and gathering to him all those who dwelt upon his way, went to meet Croesus. But before beginning his march he sent heralds to the Ionians to try to draw them away from Croesus. The Ionians would not be persuaded; but when Cyrus had come, and encamped face to face with Croesus, the armies made trial of each other's strength with might and main in the Pterian country. The battle was stubborn; many on both sides fell, and when they were parted at nightfall neither had the advantage. With such fortune did the two armies contend.

77. Croesus was not content with the number of his force, for his army which had fought was by far smaller than that of Cyrus; therefore, seeing that on

τῇ ὑστεραίῃ οὐκ ἐπειρᾶτο ἐπὶὼν ὁ Κῦρος, ἀπή-  
 λαυνε ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων παρακαλέσας  
 μὲν Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ τὸ ὄρκιον (ἐποίησατο γὰρ  
 καὶ πρὸς Ἀμασιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου συμ-  
 μαχίην πρότερον ἢ περ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους),  
 μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους (καὶ γὰρ  
 πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποιήτο συμμαχίη, ἐτυράν-  
 νενε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῶν Βαβυλωνίων  
 Λαβύνητος), ἐπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι  
 παρῆναι ἐς χρόνον ῥητόν, ἀλίσας τε δὴ τούτους  
 καὶ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ συλλέξας στρατιὴν ἐένεωτο, τὸν  
 χειμῶνα παρείς, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 Πέρσας. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα φρονέων, ὥς ἀπίκητο  
 ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἔπεμπε κήρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμ-  
 μαχίας προερέοντας ἐς πέμπτου μηνος συλλέγεσθαι  
 ἐς Σάρδεις· τὸν δὲ παρῶντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον  
 στρατὸν Πέρσῃσι, ὅς ἦν αὐτοῦ ξεινικός, πάντα  
 ἀπείς διεσκέδασε οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίσας μή κοτε ἄρα  
 ἀγωνισάμενος οὕτω παραπλησίως Κῦρος ἐλάσῃ  
 ἐπὶ Σάρδεις.

78. Ταῦτα ἐπιλεγομένῳ Κροίσῳ τὸ προάστειον  
 πᾶν ὀφίων ἐνεπλήσθη· φανέντων δὲ αὐτῶν, οἱ  
 ἵπποι μετιέντες τὰς νομὰς νέμεσθαι φοιτέοντες  
 κατήσθιον. ἰδόντι δὲ τοῦτο Κροίσῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ  
 ἦν, ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι· αὐτίκα δὲ ἔπεμπε θεοπρό-  
 πους ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων. ἀπικομέ-  
 νοισι δὲ τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελ-  
 μησσέων τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγέ-  
 νετο Κροίσῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ ὀπίσω



the day after the battle Cyrus essayed no second attack, he marched away to Sardis, intending to invite help from the Egyptians in fulfilment of their pledge (for before making an alliance with the Lacedaemonians he had made one also with Amasis king of Egypt), and to send for the Babylonians also (for with these too he had made an alliance, Labynetus being at this time their sovereign), and to summon the Lacedaemonians to join him at a fixed time. It was in his mind to muster all these forces and assemble his own army, then to wait till the winter was over and march against the Persians at the beginning of spring. With such intent, as soon as he returned to Sardis, he sent heralds to all his allies, summoning them to assemble at Sardis in five months' time; and as for the soldiers whom he had with him, who had fought with the Persians, all of them who were not of his nation he disbanded, never thinking that after so equal an issue of the contest Cyrus would march against Sardis.

78. Thus Croesus reasoned. Meantime it chanced that snakes began to swarm in the outer part of the city; and when they appeared the horses would ever leave their accustomed pasture and devour them. When Croesus saw this he thought it to be a portent, and so it was. Forthwith he sent to the abodes of the Telmessian interpreters,<sup>1</sup> to inquire concerning it; but though his messengers came and learnt from the Telmessians what the portent should signify, they could never bring back word to Croesus, for he was

<sup>1</sup> These were a caste of priests of Apollo at Telmessus or Telmissus in Lycia. τῶν ἐξηγητῶν Τελμησσίων is contrary to Greek usage, ἐξηγ. being a substantive: Stein suggests that the true reading may be Τελμησσίων τῶν ἐξηγητῶν.

σφέας ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ἤλω ὁ Κροῖσος. Τελμησσέες μέντοι τάδε ἔγνωσαν, στρατὸν ἀλλόθροον προσδόκιμον εἶναι Κροίσῳ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, ἀπικόμενον δὲ τοῦτον καταστρέψεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, λέγοντες ὅφιν εἶναι γῆς παῖδα, ἵππον δὲ πολέμιόν τε καὶ ἐπήλυδα. Τελμησσέες μὲν νυν ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροίσῳ ἤδη ἡλωκότι, οὐδέν κω εἰδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδεις τε καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον.

79. Κῦρος δὲ αὐτίκα ἀπελαύνοντος Κροίσου μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ, μαθὼν ὡς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι Κροῖσος διασκεδᾶν τὸν στρατὸν, βουλευόμενος εὗρισκε πρήγμᾳ οἱ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ὡς δύναιτο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις, πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἀλισθῆναι τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν δύναμιν. ὡς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίησε κατὰ τάχος· ἐλάσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίην αὐτὸς ἄγγελος Κροίσῳ ἐληλύθει. ἐνθαῦτα Κροῖσος ἐς ἀπορίην πολλὴν ἀπιγμένος, ὥς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἔσχε τὰ πρήγματα ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε, ὅμως τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐξῆγε ἐς μάχην. ἦν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔθνος οὐδέν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ οὔτε ἀνδρηότερον οὔτε ἀλκιμώτερον τοῦ Λυδίου. ἡ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἦν ἀπ' ἵππων, δόρατά τε ἐφόρεον μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἱππεύεσθαι ἀγαθοί.

80. Ἐς τὸ πεδῖον δὲ συνελθόντων τοῦτο τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐστὶ τοῦ Σαρδιηνοῦ, ἔον μέγα τε καὶ ψιλόν (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ ἄλλος συρρηγνῦσι ἐς τὸν μέγιστον, καλεόμενον δὲ Ἑρμον, ὃς ἐξ ὄρεος ἱοῦ μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης ῥέων ἐκδίδοι ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φωκαίην πόλιν), ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ὡς εἶδε τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐς

a prisoner before they could make their voyage back to Sardis. Howbeit, this was the judgment of the Telmessians—that Croesus must expect a foreign army to attack his country, and that when it came it would subdue the dwellers in the land: for the snake, they said, was the child of the earth, but the horse was a foe and a foreigner. Such was the answer which the Telmessians gave Croesus, knowing as yet nothing of the fate of Sardis and the king himself; but when they gave it Croesus was already taken.

79. When Croesus marched away after the battle in the Pterian country, Cyrus, learning that Croesus had gone with intent to disband his army, took counsel and perceived thereby that it was his business to march with all speed against Sardis, before the power of the Lydians could again be assembled. So he resolved and so he did speedily; he marched his army into Lydia and so himself came to bring the news of it to Croesus. All had turned out contrariwise to Croesus' expectation, and he was in a great quandary; nevertheless, he led out the Lydians to battle. Now at this time there was no nation in Asia more valiant or warlike than the Lydian. It was their custom to fight on horseback, carrying long spears, and they were skilled in the management of horses.

80. So the armies met in the plain, wide and bare, which is before the city of Sardis: the Hyllus and other rivers flow across it and rush violently together into the greatest of them, which is called Hermus (this flows from the mountain sacred to the Mother Dindymene<sup>1</sup> and issues into the sea near the city of Phocæa). Here when Cyrus saw the Lydians arraying

<sup>1</sup> Identified with the Phrygian and Lydian goddess Cybela.

μάχην τασσομένους, καταρρωδήσας τὴν ἵππον ἐποίησε Ἀρπάγου ὑποθεμένου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου τοιόνδε· ὅσαι τῷ στρατῷ τῷ ἐωυτοῦ εἶποντο σιτοφόροι τε καὶ σκευοφόροι κάμηλοι, ταύτας πάσας ἀλίσας καὶ ἀπελὼν τὰ ἄχθεα ἀνδρας ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀνέβησε ἱππάδα στολὴν ἐνεσταλμένους, σκευάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς προσέταξε τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς προίεναι πρὸς τὴν Κροίσου ἵππον, τῇ δὲ καμήλῳ ἐπεσθαι τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευσε, ὅπισθε δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐπέταξε τὴν πᾶσαν ἵππον. ὥς δὲ οἱ πάντες διετετάχατο, παραίνεσε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Λυδῶν μὴ φειδομένους κτείνειν πάντα τὸν ἐμποδῶν γινόμενον, Κροίσον δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἦν συλλαμβανόμενος ἀμύνηται. ταῦτα μὲν παραίνεσε, τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἔταξε ἀντία τῆς ἵππου τῶνδε εἵνεκεν· κάμηλον ἵππος φοβέεται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ἰδέην αὐτοῦ ὀρέων οὔτε τὴν ὁδμὴν ὀσφραινόμενος. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὦν τούτου εἵνεκεν ἐσεσόφιστο, ἵνα τῷ Κροίσῳ ἄχρηστον ᾗ τὸ ἱππικόν, τῷ δὲ τι καὶ ἐπέιχε ἐλλάμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδός. ὥς δὲ καὶ συνήσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἐνθαῦτα ὥς ὠσφραντο τάχιστα τῶν καμήλων οἱ ἵπποι καὶ εἶδον αὐτάς, ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, διέφθαρτό τε τῷ Κροίσῳ ἢ ἐλπίς. οὐ μέντοι οἷ γε Λυδοὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δειλοὶ ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων πεζοὶ τοῖσι Πέρσησι συνέβαλλον. χρόνῳ δὲ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν ἐτράποντο οἱ Λυδοί, κατειληθέντες δὲ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπολιορκέοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων.

81. Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ κατεστήκειε πολιορκίη. Κροῖσος δὲ δοκέων οἱ χρόνον ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἔσεσθαι τὴν



their battle, he was afraid of their horse, and therefore did as I will show by the counsel of one Harpagus, a Mede. Assembling all the camels that followed his army bearing food and baggage, he took off their burdens and set men upon them equipped like cavalrymen; having so equipped them he ordered them to advance before his army against Croesus' horse; he charged the infantry to follow the camels, and set all his horse behind the infantry. When they were all arrayed, he commanded them to kill all other Lydians who came in their way, and spare none, but not to kill Croesus himself, even if he should defend himself against capture. Such was his command. The reason of his posting the camels to face the cavalry was this: horses fear camels and can endure neither the sight nor the smell of them; this then was the intent of his device, that Croesus' cavalry, on which the Lydian relied for the winning of some glory, might be of no use. So when battle was joined, as soon as the horses smelt and saw the camels they turned to flight, and all Croesus' hope was lost. Nevertheless the Lydians were no cowards; when they saw what was happening they leaped from their horses and fought the Persians on foot. Many of both armies fell; at length the Lydians were routed and driven within their city wall, where they were besieged by the Persians.

81. So then they were beleaguered. But Croesus, supposing that the siege would last a long time, sent

πολιορκίην ἔπεμπε ἐκ τοῦ τείχεος ἄλλους ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς συμμαχίας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρότεροι διεπέμποντο ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα προερέοντες συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδεις, τούτους δὲ ἐξέπεμπε τὴν ταχίστην δέεσθαι βοηθέειν ὥς πολιορκεομένου Κροίσου.

82. Ἐς τε δὴ ὦν τὰς ἄλλας ἔπεμπε συμμαχίας καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. τοῖσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συνεπεπτώκεε ἕρις ἐούσα πρὸς Ἀργεῖους περὶ χώρου καλεομένου Θυρέης· τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας ταύτας ἐούσας τῆς Ἀργολίδος μοίρης ἀποταμόμενοι ἔσχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ μέχρι Μαλέων ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Ἀργείων, ἥ τε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ χώρα καὶ ἡ Κυθηρίῃ νῆσος καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν νήσων. βοηθησάντων δὲ Ἀργείων τῇ σφετέρῃ ἀποταμνομένῃ, ἐνθαῦτα συνέβησαν ἐς λόγους συνελθόντες ὥστε τριηκοσίους ἐκατέρων μαχέσασθαι, ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν περιγένωνται, τούτων εἶναι τὸν χώρον· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκάτερον ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μηδὲ παραμένειν ἀγωνιζομένων, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν ἵνα μὴ παρέοντων τῶν στρατοπέδων ὁρῶντες οἱ ἕτεροι ἐσσουμενους τοὺς σφετέρους ἐπαμύνοιεν. συνθέμενοι ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο, λογάδες δὲ ἐκατέρων ὑπολείφθεντες συνέβαλον. μαχομένων δὲ σφέων καὶ γινομένων ἰσοπαλέων ὑπελείποντο ἕξ ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων τρεῖς, Ἀργείων μὲν Ἀλκίηνωρ τε καὶ Χρομῖος, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ Ὀθρυάδης· ὑπελείφθησαν δὲ οὗτοι νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν Ἀργείων ὥς νενικηκότες ἔθεον ἐς τὸ Ἄργος, ὁ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ὀθρυάδης

messengers again from the city to his allies; whereas the former envoys had been sent to summon them to muster at Sardis in five months' time, these were to announce that Croesus was besieged and to entreat help with all speed.

82. So he sent to the Lacedaemonians as well as the rest of the allies. Now at this very time the Spartans themselves had a feud on hand with the Argives, in respect of the country called Thyrea; for this was a part of the Argive territory which the Lacedaemonians had cut off and occupied. (All the land towards the west, as far as Malea, belonged then to the Argives, and not the mainland only, but the island of Cythera and the other islands.) The Argives came out to save their territory from being cut off; then after debate the two armies agreed that three hundred of each side should fight, and whichever party won should possess the land. The rest of each army was to go away to its own country and not be present at the battle; for it was feared that if the armies remained on the field, the men of either party would render help to their comrades if they saw them losing. Having thus agreed, the armies drew off, and picked men of each side were left and fought. Neither could gain advantage in the battle; at last, of six hundred there were left only three, Alcenor and Chromios of the Argives, Othryades of the Lacedaemonians: these three were left alive at nightfall. Then the two Argives, deeming themselves victors, ran to Argos; but Othryades, the Lacedaemonian,

σκυλεύσας τοὺς Ἀργείων νεκροὺς καὶ προσφορήσας τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τὸ ἐωυτοῦ στρατόπεδον ἐν τῇ τάξει εἶχε ἐωυτόν. ἡμέρῃ δὲ δευτέρῃ παρήσαν πυνθανόμενοι ἀμφότεροι. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔφασαν νικᾶν, λέγοντες οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐωυτῶν πλεῖνες περιγεγόνασι, οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀποφαίνοντες πεφευγότας, τὸν δὲ σφέτερον παραμείναντα καὶ σκυλεύσαντα τοὺς ἐκείνων νεκρούς· τέλος δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔριδος συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, πεσόντων δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν νυν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου κατακειράμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς, πρότερον ἐπάναναγες κομῶντες, ἐποιήσαντο νόμον τε καὶ κατάρην μὴ πρότερον θρέψειν κόμην Ἀργείων μηδένα, μηδὲ τὰς γυναῖκας σφί χρυσοφορήσειν, πρὶν Θυρέας ἀνασώσωνται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἔθεντο νόμον οὐ γὰρ κομῶντες πρὸ τούτου ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν. τὸν δὲ ἓνα λέγουσι τὸν περιλειφθέντα τῶν τριηκοσίων Ὀθρυάδην, αἰσχυρόμενον ἀπονοστήειν ἐς Σπάρτην τῶν οἱ συλλοχίτων διεφθαρμένων, αὐτοῦ μιν ἐν τῇσι Θυρέῃσι καταχρήσασθαι ἐωυτόν.

83. Τοιούτων δὲ τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι ἐνεστέωτων πρηγμάτων ἦκε ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς κῆρυξ δεόμενος Κροίσῳ βοηθεῖν πολιορκεομένῳ. οἱ δὲ ὁμῶς, ἐπεῖτε ἐπύθοντο τοῦ κήρυκος, ὁρμέατο βοηθεῖν. καὶ σφί ἤδη παρεσκευασμένοισι καὶ νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐτοιμῶν ἦλθε ἄλλη ἀγγελίη, ὡς ἠλώκοι τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἔχοιτο Κροῖσος ζωγρηθείς. οὕτω δὴ οὗτοι μὲν συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι μεγάλην ἐπέπαυτο.

84. Σάρδιες δὲ ἠλώσαν ὧδε. ἐπειδὴ τεσσαρεσ-



spoiled the Argive dead, bore the armour to his own army's camp and remained in his place. On the next day both armies came to learn the issue. For a while both claimed the victory, the Argives pleading that more of their men had survived, the Lacedaemonians showing that the Argives had fled, while their man had stood his ground and despoiled the enemy dead. At last the dispute so ended that they joined battle and fought; many of both sides fell, but the Lacedaemonians had the victory. Ever after this the Argives, who before had worn their hair long by fixed custom, shaved their heads, and made a law, with a curse added thereto, that no Argive should grow his hair, and no Argive woman should wear gold, till they should recover Thyrae; and the Lacedaemonians made a contrary law, that ever after they should wear their hair long; for till now they had not so worn it. Othryades, the one survivor of the three hundred, was ashamed, it is said, to return to Sparta after all the men of his company had been slain, and killed himself on the spot at Thyrae.

83. All this had befallen the Spartans when the Sardinian herald came to entreat their help for Croesus, now besieged; yet for all that, when they heard the herald they prepared to send help; but when they were already equipped and their ships ready, there came a second message which told that the fortress of the Lydians was taken and Croesus held a prisoner. Then indeed, though greatly grieved, they ceased from their enterprise.

84. Now this is how Sardis was taken. When

καιδεκάτη ἐγένετο ἡμέρη πολιορκεομένῳ Κροῖσῳ, Κῦρος τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ διαπέμψας ἱππέας προεῖπε τῷ πρώτῳ ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τείχεος δῶρα δῶσειν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πειρησαμένης τῆς στρατιῆς ὡς οὐ προεχώρει, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν ἄλλων πεπαιγμένων ἀνὴρ Μάρδος ἐπειράτο προσβαίνων, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Τροιάδης, κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τῇ οὐδεὶς ἐτέτακτο φύλακος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν κατὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἀλφῷ κοτέ. ἀπότομός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ ταύτῃ ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἄμαχος· τῇ οὐδὲ Μήλης ὁ πρότερον βασιλεὺς Σαρδίων μούνη οὐ περιήνεικε τὸν λέοντα τὸν οἱ ἡ παλλακὴ ἔτεκε, Τελμησσέων δικασάντων ὡς περιενειχθέντος τοῦ λέοντος τὸ τεῖχος ἔσονται Σάρδιες ἀνάλωτοι. ὁ δὲ Μήλης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τεῖχος περιενείκας, τῇ ἦν ἐπίμαχον τὸ χωρίον<sup>1</sup> τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε τοῦτο ὡς ἔον ἄμαχόν τε καὶ ἀπότομον· ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τρωάου τετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος. ὁ ὢν δὴ Τροιάδης οὗτος ὁ Μάρδος ἰδὼν τῇ προτεραίῃ τῶν τινα Λυδῶν κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κυνέην ἄνωθεν κατακυλισθεῖσαν καὶ ἀνελόμενον, ἐφρίσθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐβάλετο· τότε δὲ δὴ αὐτὸς τε ἀναβεβήκεε καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Περσέων ἀνέβαινον· προσβάντων δὲ συχνῶν οὕτω δὴ Σάρδιές τε ἠλώκεσαν καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορθέετο.

85. Κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον τάδε ἐγίνετο. ἦν οἱ παῖς, τοῦ καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικῆς, ἄφρωνος δέ. ἐν τῇ ὢν παρελθούσῃ εὖεστοῖ ὁ Κροῖσος τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεποιήκεε, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς

<sup>1</sup> τὸ χωρίον is bracketed by Stein.

Croesus had been besieged for fourteen days, Cyrus sent horsemen about in his army to promise rewards to him who should first mount the wall. After this the army made an assault, but with no success. Then, all the rest being at a stand, a certain Mardian<sup>1</sup> called Hyroeades essayed to mount by a part of the citadel where no guard had been set; for here the height on which the citadel stood was sheer and hardly to be assaulted, and none feared that it could be taken by an attack made here. This was the only place where Meles the former king of Sardis had not carried the lion which his concubine had borne him, the Telmesians having declared that if this lion were carried round the walls Sardis could never be taken. Meles then carried the lion round the rest of the wall of the acropolis where it could be assaulted, but neglected this place, because the height was sheer and defied attack. It is on the side of the city which faces towards Tmolus. So then it chanced that on the day before this Mardian, Hyroeades, had seen one of the Lydians descend by this part of the citadel after a helmet that had fallen down, and fetch it; he took note of this and considered it, and now he himself climbed up, and other Persians after him. Many ascended, and thus was Sardis taken and all the city like to be sacked.

85. I will now tell what befell Croesus himself. He had a son, of whom I have already spoken, a likely youth enough save that he was dumb. Now in his past days of prosperity Croesus had done all that he could for his son; and besides resorting to other plans he had sent to Delphi to inquire of the

<sup>1</sup> The Mardi were a nomad Persian tribe.

περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόμφεε χρησομένους. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ εἶπε τάδε.

Λυδὲ γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῦ, μέγα νήπιε  
Κροῖσε,

μὴ βούλου πολύευκτον ἰὴν ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκούειν  
παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τὸ δέ σοι πολὺ λώιον  
ἀμφίς

ἔμμεναι· αὐδῇσει γὰρ ἐν ἡματι πρῶτον ἀνόλβω.

ἀλISCOμένον δὴ τοῦ τείχεος, ἦε γὰρ τῶν τις  
Περσέων ἀλλογνώσας Κροῖσον ὥς ἀποκτενέων,  
Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ὁρέων ἐπιόντα ὑπὸ τῆς παρεούσης  
συμφορῆς παρημελήκεε, οὐδέ τί οἱ διέφερε πλη-  
γῆντι ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ δὲ παῖς οὗτος ὁ ἄφωνος ὥς εἶδε  
ἐπιόντα τὸν Πέρσην, ὑπὸ δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε  
φωνήν, εἶπε δὲ "ὦνθρώπε, μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον."  
οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐφθέγγετο, μετὰ δὲ  
τοῦτο ἤδη ἐφώνεε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζῆς.

86. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τὰς τε δὴ Σάρδις ἔσχον καὶ  
αὐτὸν Κροῖσον ἐξώγρησαν, ἄρξαντα ἕτεα τεσσερεσ-  
καῖδεκα καὶ τεσσερεσκαῖδεκα ἡμέρας πολιορκη-  
θέντα, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν τε καταπαύσαντα τὴν  
ἰωυτοῦ μεγάλην ἀρχήν. λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ  
Πέρσαι ἤγαγον παρὰ Κῦρον. ὁ δὲ συννήσας  
πυρὴν μεγάλην ἀνεβίβασε ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὸν Κροῖσον  
τε ἐν πέδῃσι δεδεμένον καὶ δις ἐπτὰ Λυδῶν παρ'  
αὐτὸν παῖδας, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων εἴτε δὴ ἀκροθίνια  
ταῦτα καταγιεῖν θεῶν ὅτεω δὴ, εἴτε καὶ εὐχὴν  
ἐπιτελέσαι θέλων, εἴτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον  
εἶναι θεοσεβεῖα τοῦδε εἵνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν  
πυρὴν, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἴ τις μιν δαιμόνων  
ῥύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι. τὸν μὲν δὴ



oracle concerning him. The Pythian priestess thus answered him :

"Lydian, of many the lord, thou know'st not the boon that thou askest.

Wish not nor pray that the voice of thy son may be heard in the palace ;

Better it were for thee that dumb he abide as aforetime ;

Luckless that day shall be when first thou hearest him speaking."

So at the taking of the fortress a certain Persian, not knowing who Croesus was, came at him with intent to kill him. Croesus saw him coming, but by stress of misfortune he was past caring, and would as soon be smitten to death as not ; but this dumb son, seeing the Persian coming, in his fear and his grief broke into speech and cried, "Man, do not kill Croesus!" This was the first word he uttered ; and after that for all the days of his life he had power of speech.

86. So the Persians took Sardis and made Croesus himself prisoner, he having reigned fourteen years and been besieged fourteen days, and, as the oracle foretold, brought his own great empire to an end. Having then taken him they led him to Cyrus. Cyrus had a great pyre built, on which he set Croesus, bound in chains, and twice seven Lydian boys beside him : either his intent was to sacrifice these firstfruits to some one of his gods, or he desired to fulfil a vow, or it may be that, learning that Croesus was a god-fearing man, he set him for this cause on the pyre, because he would fain know if any deity would save him from being burnt alive. It is related

ποιεῖν ταῦτα· τῷ δὲ Κροῖσῳ ἑστέῳτι ἐπὶ τῆς πυρῆς ἐσελθεῖν, καίπερ ἐν κακῷ ἑόντι τοσούτῳ, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὥς οἱ εἶη σὺν θεῷ εἰρημένον, τὸ μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ζώντων ὀλβιον. ὥς δὲ ἄρα μιν προσστήναι τοῦτο, ἀνενεικάμενόν τε καὶ ἀναστενάξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίης ἐς τρίς ὀνομάσαι "Σόλων." καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα κελεῦσαι τοὺς ἑρμηνέας ἐπειρέσθαι τὸν Κροῖσον τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικαλέοιτο, καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας ἐπειρωτᾶν· Κροῖσον δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴν ἔχειν εἰρωτώμενον, μετὰ δὲ ὥς ἠναγκάζετο, εἰπεῖν "Τὸν ἂν ἐγὼ πᾶσι τυράννοισι προετίμησα μεγάλων χρημάτων ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν." ὥς δὲ σφί ἄσημα ἔφραζε, πάλιν ἐπειρωτῶν τὰ λεγόμενα. λιπαρεόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὄχλον παρεχόντων, ἔλεγε δὴ ὥς ἦλθε ἀρχὴν ὁ Σόλων ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ὀλβον ἀποφλαυρίσειε οἷα δὴ εἶπας, ὥς τε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκοι τῇ περ ἐκεῖνος εἶπε, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐς ἑωυτὸν λέγων ἢ οὐκ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ὀλβίους δοκέοντας εἶναι. τὸν μὲν Κροῖσον ταῦτα ἀπηγέεσθαι, τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἡδὴ ἀμμένης καίεσθαι τὰ περιέσχυα. καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἑρμηνέων τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε, μεταγνόντα τε καὶ ἐννόσαντα ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον, γενόμενον ἑωυτοῦ εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ζῶντα πυρὶ διδοίη, πρὸς τε τούτοις δείσαντα τὴν τίσιν καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενον ὥς οὐδὲν εἶη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀσφαλές ἔχον, κελεύειν σβεννύναι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ καίόμενον πῦρ<sup>1</sup> καὶ

<sup>1</sup> πῦρ is bracketed by Stein.

then that he did this; but Croesus, as he stood on the pyre, remembered even in his evil plight how divinely inspired was that saying of Solon, that no living man was blest. When this came to his mind, having till now spoken no word, he sighed deeply and groaned, and thrice uttered the name of Solon. Cyrus heard it, and bade his interpreters ask Croesus who was this on whom he called; they came near and asked him; Croesus at first would say nothing in answer, but presently, being compelled, he said, "It is one with whom I would have given much wealth that all sovereigns should hold converse." This was a dark saying to them, and again they questioned him of the words which he spoke. As they were instant, and troubled him, he told them then how Solon, an Athenian, had first come, and how he had seen all his royal state and made light of it (saying thus and thus), and how all had happened to Croesus as Solon said, though he spoke with less regard to Croesus than to mankind in general and chiefly those who deemed themselves blest. While Croesus thus told his story, the pyre had already been kindled and the outer parts of it were burning. Then Cyrus, when he heard from the interpreters what Croesus said, repented of his purpose. He bethought him that he, being also a man, was burning alive another man who had once been as fortunate as himself; moreover, he feared the retribution, and it came to his mind that there was no stability in human affairs; wherefore he gave command to quench the burning

καταβιβάζειν Κροῖσόν τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Κροῖσου, καὶ τοὺς πειρωμένους οὐ δύνασθαι ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι.

87. Ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν Κροῖσον μαθόντα τὴν Κύρου μετάγνωσιν, ὥς ὦρα πάντα μὲν ἄνδρα σβεννύντα τὸ πῦρ, δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν, ἐπιβώσασθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπικαλεόμενον, εἴ τί οἱ κεχαρισμένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήθη, παραστήναι καὶ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ. τὸν μὲν δακρύνοντα ἐπικαλέεσθαι τὸν θεόν, ἐκ δὲ αἰθρίης τε καὶ νηνεμῆς συνδραμεῖν ἐξαπίνης νέφεα καὶ χειμῶνά τε καταπραγῆναι καὶ ὕσαι ὕδατι λαβροτάτῳ, κατασβεσθῆναί τε τὴν πυρὴν. οὕτω δὲ μαθόντα τὸν Κύρον ὥς εἶη ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ θεοφιλὴς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, καταβιβάσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς εἰρέσθαι τάδε. “Κροῖσε, τίς σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγνωσε ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρατευσάμενον πολέμιον ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστήναι;” ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔπρηξα τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδαιμονίῃ, τῇ ἐμεωυτοῦ δὲ κακοδαιμονίῃ, αἷτιος δὲ τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἑλλήνων θεὸς ἐπαείρας ἐμὲ στρατεῦεσθαι. οὐδεὶς γάρ οὕτω ἀνόητος ἐστὶ ὅστις πόλεμον πρὸ εἰρήνης αἰρέεται· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ οἱ παῖδες τοὺς πατέρας θύπτουσι, ἐν δὲ τῇ οἱ πατέρες τοὺς παῖδας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δαίμοσί κου φίλον ἦν οὕτω γενέσθαι.”

88. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Κύρος δὲ αὐτὸν λύσας κατεῖσέ τε ἐγγὺς ἑωυτοῦ καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῇ προμηθίᾳ εἶχε, ἀπεθούμαζέ τε ὁρέων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ περὶ ἐκείνον ἔοντες πάντες. ὁ δὲ συννοῶν ἐχόμενος ἡσυχος ἦν· μετὰ δὲ ἐπιστραφεῖς τε καὶ



fire with all speed and bring Croesus and those with him down from the pyre. But his servants could not for all their endeavour now master the fire.

87. Then (so the Lydians relate), when Croesus was aware of Cyrus' repentance and saw all men striving to quench the fire but no longer able to check it, he cried aloud to Apollo, praying that if the god had ever been pleased with any gift of his offering he would now come to his aid and save him from present destruction. Thus with weeping he invoked the god: and suddenly in a clear and windless sky clouds gathered and a storm burst and there was a most violent rain, so that the pyre was quenched. Then indeed Cyrus perceived that Croesus was a good man and one beloved of the gods; and bringing him down from the pyre, he questioned him, saying, "What man persuaded you, Croesus, to attack my country with an army, and be my enemy instead of my friend?" "O King," said Croesus, "it was I who did it, and brought thereby good fortune to you and ill to myself: but the cause of all was the god of the Greeks, in that he encouraged me to send my army. No man is so foolish as to desire war more than peace: for in peace sons bury their fathers, but in war fathers bury their sons. But I must believe that heaven willed all this so to be."

88. So said Croesus. Then Cyrus loosed him and set him near to himself and took much thought for him, and both he and all that were with him were astonished when they looked upon Croesus. He for his part was silent, deep in thought. Presently he

ιδόμενος τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἄστυ κεραίζοντας εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, κότερον λέγειν πρὸς σέ τὰ νοέων τυγχάνω ἢ σιγᾶν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι χρόνῳ;” Κῦρος δέ μιν θαρσύνοντα ἐκέλευε λέγειν ὃ τι βούλοιο. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰρώτα λέγων “Οὗτος ὁ πολλὸς ὄμιλος τί ταῦτα πολλῇ σπουδῇ ἐργάζεται;” ὁ δὲ εἶπε “Πόλιν τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάζει καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ διαφορέει.” Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμείβετο “Οὔτε πόλιν τὴν ἐμὴν οὔτε χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάζει· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἔτι τούτων μέτα· ἀλλὰ φέρουσίν τε καὶ ἄγουσιν τὰ σά.”

89. Κύρῳ δὲ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε· μεταστησάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, εἶρετο Κροῖσον ὃ τι οἱ ἐνορήῃ ἐν τοῖσι ποιευμένοισι. ὁ δὲ εἶπε “Ἐπεῖτε με θεοὶ ἔδωκαν δούλον σοί, δικαίῳ, εἴ τι ἐνορέω πλέον, σημαίνειν σοί. Πέρσαι φύσιν ἐόντες ὑβρίζονται εἰς ἀχρήματοι. ἦν ὧν σὺ τούτους περιύδης διαρπάσαντας καὶ κατασχόντας χρήματα μεγάλα, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι· ὃς ἂν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα κατάσχη, τούτον προσδέκεσθαί τοι ἐπαναστησόμενον. νῦν ὧν ποίησον ὧδε, εἴ τοι ἀρέσκει τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω· κάτισον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πάσῃσι τῇσι πύλῃσι φυλάκους, οἳ λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας τὰ χρήματα ἀπαιρεόμενοι ὥς σφέα ἀναγκαίως ἔχει δεκατευθῆναι τῷ Διί. καὶ σύ τέ σφι οὐκ ἀπεχθήσῃαι βίῃ ἀπαιρεόμενος τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἐκείνοι συγγόνοντες ποιέειν σε δίκαια ἐκόντες προήσουσι.”

90. Ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Κῦρος ὑπερήδετο, ὥς οἱ ἐδόκεε εὖ ὑποτίθεσθαι· αἰνέσας δὲ πολλά, καὶ ἐντειλόμενος τοῖσι δορυφόροις τὰ Κροῖσος ὑπεθήκατο ἐπιτελέειν, εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε.

turned and said (for he saw the Persians sacking the city of the Lydians), "O King, am I to say to you now what is in my mind, or keep silence?" Cyrus bidding him to say boldly what he would, Croesus asked, "Yonder multitude, what is this whereon they are so busily engaged?" "They are plundering," said Cyrus, "your city and carrying off your possessions." "Nay," Croesus answered, "not my city, nor my possessions; for I have no longer any share of all this; it is your wealth that they are ravishing."

89. Cyrus thought upon what Croesus said, and bidding the rest withdraw he asked Croesus what fault he saw in what was being done. "Since the gods," replied the Lydian, "have given me to be your slave, it is right that if I have any clearer sight of wrong done I should declare it to you. The Persians are violent men by nature, and poor withal; if then you suffer them to seize and hold great possessions, you may expect that he who has won most will rise in revolt against you. Now therefore do this, if what I say finds favour with you. Set men of your guard to watch all the gates; let them take the spoil from those who are carrying it out, and say that it must be paid as tithe to Zeus. Thus shall you not be hated by them for taking their wealth by force, and they for their part will acknowledge that you act justly, and will give up the spoil willingly."

90. When Cyrus heard this he was exceedingly pleased, for he deemed the counsel good; and praising him greatly, and bidding his guards to act as Croesus

“Κροῖσε, ἀναρτημένου σεῦ ἀνδρὸς βασιλέος χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ποιέειν, αἰτέο δόσιν ἥντινα βούλεαί τοι γενέσθαι παραντίκα.” ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ δέσποτα, ἑάσας με χαριεῖ μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐτίμησα θεῶν μάλιστα, ἐπειρέσθαι πέμψαντα τάσδε τὰς πέδας, εἰ ἔξαπατᾶν τοὺς εὖ ποιεῦντας νόμος ἐστί οἱ.” Κῦρος δὲ εἶρετο ὃ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορέων παραιτέοιτο. Κροῖσος δὲ οἱ ἐπαλλόγησε πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τὰς ὑποκρίσιας καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἀναθήματα, καὶ ὡς ἐπαερθεὶς τῷ μαντηίῳ ἐστρατεύσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας· λέγων δὲ ταῦτα κατέβαινε αὐτὶς παραιτέομενος ἐπεῖναί οἱ τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο ὀνειδίσαι. Κῦρος δὲ γελάσας εἶπε “καὶ τούτου τεύξεαι παρ’ ἐμεῦ, Κροῖσε, καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς τοῦ ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέῃ.” ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε ὁ Κροῖσος, πέμπων τῶν Λυδῶν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐνετελλετο τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ νηοῦ τὸν οὐδὸν εἰρωτᾶν εἰ οὐ τι ἐπαισχύνεται τοῖσι μαντήιοις ἐπαείρας Κροῖσον στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας ὡς καταπαύσοντα τὴν Κύρου δύναμιν, ἀπ’ ἧς οἱ ἀκροθίνια τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι, δεικνύντας τὰς πέδας· ταῦτα τε ἐπειρωτᾶν, καὶ εἰ ἀχαριστοῖσι νόμος εἶναι τοῖσι Ἑλληνικοῖσι θεοῖσι.

91. Ἀπικομένοις δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ λέγουσι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τὴν Πυθίην λέγεται εἶπεῖν τάδε. “Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἡδύνατα ἐστὶ ἀποφυγεῖν καὶ θεῷ· Κροῖσος δὲ πέμπτου γονέος ἀμαρτὰδα ἐξέπλησε, ὃς ἐὼν δορυφόρος Ἡρακλείδεων, δόλῳ γυναικίῳ ἐπισπόμενος ἐφόνευσε τὸν δεσπότηα καὶ ἔσχε τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν οὐδὲν οἱ προσήκουσαν. προθυμεομένου δὲ Λοξίῳ ὅπως ἂν κατὰ τοὺς



had counselled, he said: "Croesus, now that you, a king, are resolved to act and to speak aright, ask me now for whatever boon you desire forthwith." "Master," said Croesus, "you will best please me if you suffer me to send these my chains to that god of the Greeks whom I chiefly honoured, and to ask him if it be his custom to deceive those who serve him well." Cyrus then asking him what charge he brought against the god that he made this request, Croesus repeated to him the tale of all his own intent, and the answers of the oracles, and more especially his offerings, and how it was the oracle that had heartened him to attack the Persians; and so saying he once more instantly entreated that he might be suffered to reproach the god for this. At this Cyrus smiled, and replied, "This I will grant you, Croesus, and what other boon soever you may at any time ask me." When Croesus heard this, he sent men of the Lydians to Delphi, charging them to lay his chains on the threshold of the temple, and to ask if the god were not ashamed that he had persuaded Croesus to attack the Persians, telling him that he would destroy Cyrus' power; of which power (they should say, showing the chains) these were the first-fruits. Thus they should inquire; and further, if it were the manner of the Greek gods to be thankless.

91. When the Lydians came, and spoke as they were charged, the priestess (it is said) thus replied: "None may escape his destined lot, not even a god. Croesus hath paid for the sin of his ancestor of the fifth generation: who, being of the guard of the Heraclidae, was led by the guile of a woman to slay his master, and took to himself the royal state of that master, whereto he had no right. And it was the desire of Loxias that the evil hap of Sardis should

παῖδας τοῦ Κροίσου γένοιτο τὸ Σαρδίων πάθος καὶ μὴ κατ' αὐτὸν Κροῖσον, οὐκ οἶον τε ἐγίνετο παραγαγεῖν μοίρας. ὅσον δὲ ἐνέδωκαν αὐται, ἦνυσέ τε καὶ ἐχαρίσατό οἱ· τρία γὰρ ἔτεα ἐπανεβάλετο τὴν Σαρδίων ἄλωσιν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιστάσθω Κροῖσος ὥς ὕστερον τοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτοις ἀλούς τῆς πεπρωμένης. δεύτερα δὲ τούτων καιομένα αὐτῷ ἐπῆρκεσε. κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντήιον τὸ γερόμενον οὐκ ὀρθῶς Κροῖσος μέμφεται. προηγόρευε γὰρ οἱ Λοξίης, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν καταλύσειν. τὸν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα χρὴν εὖ μέλλοντα βουλευέσθαι ἐπειρέσθαι πέμψαντα κότερα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἢ τὴν Κύρου λέγει ἀρχήν. οὐ συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ῥηθὲν οὐδ' ἐπανειρόμενος ἑωυτὸν αἴτιον ἀποφαινέτω· τῷ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον χρηστηριαζομένῳ εἶπε Λοξίης περὶ ἡμίονου, οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνέλαβε. ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κῦρος οὗτος ἡμίονος· ἐκ γὰρ δυῶν οὐκ ὁμοεθνέων ἐγεγόνεε, μητρὸς ἀμείνωνος, πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδεεστέρου· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἦν Μηδὶς καὶ Ἀστυάγεος θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μηδῶν βασιλέως, ὃ δὲ Πέρσης τε ἦν καὶ ἀρχόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνοισι καὶ ἔνερθε ἔων τοῖσι ἅπασιν δεσποίνῃ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ συνοίκεε." ταῦτα μὲν ἡ Πυθίῃ ὑπεκρίνατο τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, οἱ δὲ ἀνῆναικαν ἐς Σάρδις καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν Κροίσῳ. ὃ δὲ ἀκούσας συνέγνω ἑωυτοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα καὶ οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν Κροίσου τε ἀρχὴν καὶ Ἰωνίης τὴν πρώτην καταστροφὴν ἔσχε οὕτω.

92. Κροίσῳ δὲ ἐστὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολλὰ καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μούνα. ἐν μὲν

fall in the lifetime of Croesus' sons, not his own, but he could not turn the Fates from their purpose; yet did he accomplish his will and favour Croesus in so far as they would yield to him: for he delayed the taking of Sardis for three years, and this let Croesus know, that though he be now taken it is by so many years later than the destined hour. And further, Loxias saved Croesus from the burning. But as to the oracle that was given him, Croesus doth not right to complain concerning it. For Loxias declared to him that if he should lead an army against the Persians he would destroy a great empire. Therefore it behoved him, if he would take right counsel, to send and ask whether the god spoke of Croesus' or of Cyrus' empire. But he understood not that which was spoken, nor made further inquiry: wherefore now let him blame himself. Nay, when he asked that last question of the oracle and Loxias gave him that answer concerning the mule, even that Croesus understood not. For that mule was in truth Cyrus; who was the son of two persons not of the same nation, of whom the mother was the nobler and the father of lesser estate; for she was a Median, daughter of Astyages king of the Medians: but he was a Persian and under the rule of the Medians, and was wedded, albeit in all regards lower than she, to one that should be his sovereign lady." Such was the answer of the priestess to the Lydians; they carried it to Sardis and told it to Croesus; and when he heard it, he confessed that the sin was not the god's, but his own. And this is the story of Croesus' rule, and of the first overthrow of Ionia.

92. Now there are many offerings of Croesus in Hellas, and not only those whereof I have spoken.

γὰρ Θήβησι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ, ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ αἱ τε βόες αἱ χρύσεαι καὶ τῶν κιόνων αἱ πολλαί, ἐν δὲ Προνηίης τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀσπίς χρυσῆ μεγάλη. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιέοντα, τὰ δ' ἐξαπόλωλε τῶν ἀναθημάτων· τὰ δ' ἐν Βραγχίδησι τῇσι Μιλησίων ἀναθήματα Κροίσῳ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἴσα τε σταθμὸν καὶ ὅμοια τοῖσι ἐν Δελφοῖσι<sup>1</sup>. . . . τὰ μὲν νυν ἐς τε Δελφοὺς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω ἀνέθηκε οἰκῆμά τε ἔοντα καὶ τῶν πατρώϊων χρημάτων ἀπαρχήν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἐγένετο οὐσίης ἐχθροῦ, ὃς οἱ πρὶν ἢ βασιλεῦσαι ἀντιστασιώτης κατεστήκει, συσπεύδων Πανταλέοντι γενέσθαι τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλυάττεω μὲν παῖς, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφεὸς οὐκ ὁμομήτριος· Κροῖσος μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Καείρης ἦν γυναικὸς Ἀλυάττη, Πανταλέων δὲ ἐξ Ἰάδος. ἐπεῖτε δὲ δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἀντιπρήσσοντα ἐπὶ κνάφου ἔλκων διέφθειρε, τὴν δὲ οὐσίην αὐτοῦ ἔτι πρότερον κατιρώσας τότε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὰ εἴρηται. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

93. Θώματα δὲ γῇ ἡ Λυδία ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἷά τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου καταφερομένου ψήγματος. ἐν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων· ἔστι αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> The sentence is incomplete, lacking a predicate.



There is a golden tripod at Thebes in Boeotia, which he dedicated to Apollo of Ismenus; at Ephesus<sup>1</sup> there are the oxen of gold and the greater part of the pillars; and in the temple of Pronēia at Delphi, a golden shield.<sup>2</sup> All these yet remained till my lifetime; but some other of the offerings have perished. And the offerings of Croesus at Branchidae of the Milesians, as I have heard, are equal in weight and like to those at Delphi. Those which he dedicated at Delphi and the shrine of Amphiaras were his own, the firstfruits of the wealth inherited from his father; the rest came from the estate of an enemy who had headed a faction against Croesus before he became king, and conspired to win the throne of Lydia for Pantaleon. This Pantaleon was a son of Alyattes, and half-brother of Croesus: Croesus was Alyattes' son by a Carian and Pantaleon by an Ionian mother. So when Croesus gained the sovereignty by his father's gift, he put the man who had conspired against him to death by drawing him across a carding-comb, and first confiscated his estate, then dedicated it as and where I have said. This is all that I shall say of Croesus' offerings.

93. There are not in Lydia many marvellous things for me to tell of, if it be compared with other countries, except the gold dust that comes down from Tmolus. But there is one building to be seen there which is more notable than any, saving those of Egypt and Babylon. There is in Lydia the tomb of Alyattes the father of Croesus, the base

<sup>1</sup> The temple at Ephesus was founded probably in Alyattes' reign, and not completed till the period of the Graeco-Persian War.

<sup>2</sup> The temple of Athene Pronēia (= before the shrine) was situated outside the temple of Apollo.

ἡ κρηπὶς μὲν ἐστὶ λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χῶμα γῆς. ἐξεργάσαντο δὲ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι. οὖροι δὲ πέντε ἔοντες ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω, καὶ σφίσι γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο τὰ ἕκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο, καὶ ἐφαίνετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἔδν μέγιστον. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι, συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνάς, ἐς ὃ ἂν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιέουσιν· ἐκδιδοῦσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωυτάς. ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σήματος εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἕξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα, τὸ δὲ εὖρος ἐστὶ πλέθρα τρία καὶ δέκα. λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοὶ αἰίναον εἶναι· καλέεται δὲ αὕτη Γυγαίη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐστί.

94. Λυδοὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ Ἕλληνες, χωρὶς ἥ ὅτι τὰ θήλεα τέκνα καταπορνεύουσι, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοψάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο. φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ τὰς παιγνίας τὰς νῦν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἕλλησι κατεστεώσας ἑωυτῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι· ἅμα δὲ ταύτας τε ἐξευρεθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσι καὶ Τυρσηνὴν ἀποικίσαι, ὧδε περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντες. ἐπὶ Ἄττος τοῦ Μάνεω βασιλέος σιτοδείην ἰσχυρὴν ἀνὰ τὴν Λυδίην πᾶσαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς τέως μὲν διάγειν λιπαρέοντας, μετὰ δὲ ὥς οὐ παύεσθαι, ἅκεα δίξησθαι, ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηχανᾶσθαι αὐτῶν. ἐξευρεθῆναι δὴ ὧν τότε καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων καὶ τῆς σφαίρης καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων

whereof is made of great stones and the rest of it of mounded earth. It was built by the men of the market and the artificers and the prostitutes. There remained till my time five corner-stones set on the top of the tomb, and on these was graven the record of the work done by each kind: and measurement showed that the prostitutes' share of the work was the greatest. All the daughters of the common people of Lydia ply the trade of prostitutes, to collect dowries, till they can get themselves husbands; and they offer themselves in marriage. Now this tomb has a circumference of six furlongs and a third, and its breadth is above two furlongs; and there is a great lake hard by the tomb, which, say the Lydians, is fed by ever-flowing springs; it is called the Gygaean lake. Such then is this tomb.

94. The customs of the Lydians are like those of the Greeks, save that they make prostitutes of their female children. They were the first men (known to us) who coined and used gold and silver currency; and they were the first to sell by retail. And, according to what they themselves say, the pastimes now in use among them and the Greeks were invented by the Lydians: these, they say, were invented among them at the time when they colonised Tyrrhenia. This is their story: In the reign of Atys son of Manes there was great scarcity of food in all Lydia. For a while the Lydians bore this with what patience they could; presently, when there was no abatement of the famine, they sought for remedies, and divers plans were devised by divers men. Then it was that they invented the games of dice and knuckle-bones and

πασέων παιγνιέων τὰ εἶδεα, πλὴν πεσσῶν τούτων γὰρ ὧν τὴν ἐξεύρεσιν οὐκ οἰκηιοῦνται Λυδοί. ποιεῖν δὲ ὧδε πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν ἐξευρόντας, τὴν μὲν ἐτέρην τῶν ἡμερέων παίζειν πᾶσαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ζητέοιεν σιτία, τὴν δὲ ἐτέρην σιτέεσθαι πανομένους τῶν παιγνιέων. τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ διάγειν ἐπ' ἔτεα δυὼν δέοντα εἴκοσι. ἐπεῖτε δὲ οὐκ ἀνιέναι τὸ κακὸν ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐπὶ μᾶλλον βιάζεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν δύο μοίρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων κληρῶσαι τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μόνη τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ μένειν αὐτοῦ λαγχανούσῃ τῶν μοιρέων ἑωυτὸν τὸν βασιλέα προστάσσειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἀπαλλασσομένῃ τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα, τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Τυρσηνόν. λαχόντας δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας καταβῆναι ἐς Σμύρνην καὶ μηχανήσασθαι πλοῖα, ἐς τὰ ἐσθεμένους τὰ πάντα ὅσα σφί ἦν χρηστὰ ἐπίπλοα, ἀποπλέειν κατὰ βίου τε καὶ γῆς ζήτησιν, ἐς δ' ἔθνεα πολλὰ παραμειψαμένους ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὀμβρικούς, ἐνθα σφέας ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιας καὶ οἰκέειν τὸ μέχρι τοῦδε. ἀντὶ δὲ Λυδῶν μετονομασθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ παιδός, ὃς σφέας ἀνήγαγε, ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιημένους ὀνομασθῆναι Τυρσηνοὺς.

Λυδοὶ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἐδεδούλωντο.

95. Ἐπιδίξεται δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τὸν τε Κῦρον ὅστις ἔων τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν κατείλε, καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὅτεω τρόπῳ ἡγήσαντο τῆς Ἀσίης. ὥς ὧν Περσέων μετεξέτεροι λέγουσι, οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κῦρον ἀλλὰ τὸν ἔοντα λέγειν λόγον, κατὰ ταῦτα γράψω.



ball, and all other forms of pastime except only draughts, which the Lydians do not claim to have discovered. Then, using their discovery to lighten the famine, they would play for the whole of every other day, that they might not have to seek for food, and the next day they ceased from their play and ate. This was their manner of life for eighteen years. But the famine did not cease to plague them, and rather afflicted them yet more grievously. At last their king divided the people into two portions, and made them draw lots, so that the one part should remain and the other leave the country; he himself was to be the head of those who drew the lot to remain there, and his son, whose name was Tyrrhenus, of those who departed. Then one part of them, having drawn the lot, left the country and came down to Smyrna and built ships, whereon they set all their goods that could be carried on shipboard, and sailed away to seek a livelihood and a country; till at last, after sojourning with many nations in turn, they came to the Ombrici,<sup>1</sup> where they founded cities and have dwelt ever since. They no longer called themselves Lydians, but Tyrrhenians, after the name of the king's son who had led them thither.

The Lydians, then, were enslaved by the Persians.

95. But it is next the business of my history to inquire who this Cyrus was who brought down the power of Croesus, and how the Persians came to be rulers of Asia. I mean then to be guided in what I write by some of the Persians who desire not to make a fine tale of the story of Cyrus but to tell

<sup>1</sup> In northern and central Italy; the Umbria of Roman history perpetuates the name.

ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κύρου καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι.

Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχόντων τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἕτα εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια, πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν Μῆδοι ἤρξαντο ἀπίστασθαι, καὶ κως οὗτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας μαχεσάμενοι τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, καὶ ἀπωσάμενοι τὴν δουλοσύνην ἐλευθερώθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνεα ἐποίηε τῶντὸ τοῖσι Μῆδοισι.

96. Ἐόντων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ τὴν ἡπειρον, ὧδε αὐτὶς ἐς τυραννίδα περιῆλθον. ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖσι Μῆδοισι ἐγένετο σοφὸς τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Δηϊόκης, παῖς δ' ἦν Φραόρτεω. οὗτος ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐρασθεὶς τυραννίδος ἐποίηε τοιάδε. κατοικημένων τῶν Μήδων κατὰ κώμας, ἐν τῇ ἐωυτοῦ ἐὼν καὶ πρότερον δόκιμος καὶ μᾶλλον τι καὶ προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἤσκει· καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι ἐούσης ἀνομίης πολλῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐποίηε, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἄδικον πολέμιον ἐστί. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Μῆδοι ὁρῶντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους δικαστὴν μιν ἐωυτῶν αἰρέοντο. ὁ δὲ δῆ, οἷα μνώμενος ἀρχήν, ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν, ποιέων τε ταῦτα ἔπαινον εἶχε οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς τῶν πολιητέων, οὕτω ὥστε πυνθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλησι κώμησι ὡς Δηϊόκης εἴη ἀνὴρ μῦνος κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν δικάζων, πρότερον περιπίπτοντες ἀδίκοισι γνώμησι, τότε ἐπεῖτε ἤκουσαν ἄσμενοι ἐφοίτων παρὰ τὸν Δηϊόκεα καὶ αὐτοὶ δικασόμενοι, τέλος δὲ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐπετράποντο.

97. Πλεῦνος δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένου τοῦ ἐπιφοιτέοντος, οἷα πυνθανομένων τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνειν

the truth, though there are no less than three other accounts of Cyrus which I could give.

When the Assyrians had ruled Upper Asia for five hundred and twenty years<sup>1</sup> their subjects began to revolt from them: first of all, the Medes. These, it would seem, proved their valour in fighting for freedom against the Assyrians; they cast off their slavery and won freedom. Afterwards the other subject nations too did the same as the Medes.

96. All of those on the mainland were now free men; but they came once more to be ruled by monarchs as I will now relate. There was among the Medians a clever man called Deioces: he was the son of Phraortes. Deioces was enamoured of sovereignty, and thus he set about gaining it. Being already a notable man in his own township (one of the many townships into which Media was parcelled), he began to profess and practise justice more constantly and zealously than ever, and this he did although there was much lawlessness in all the land of Media, and though he knew that injustice is ever the foe of justice. Then the Medes of the same township, seeing his dealings, chose him to be their judge, and he (for he coveted sovereign power) was honest and just. By so acting he won no small praise from his fellow townsmen, insomuch that when the men of the other townships learned that Deioces alone gave righteous judgments (they having before suffered from unjust decisions) they, then, on hearing this, came often and gladly to plead before Deioces; and at last they would submit to no arbitrament but his.

97. The number of those who came grew ever greater, for they heard that each case ended as

<sup>1</sup> From 1229 to 709 B.C., as Deioces' reign began in 709.

κατὰ τὸ εἶν, γνοὺς ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐς ἑωυτὸν πᾶν ἀνακείμενον οὔτε κατίζειν ἔτι ἤθελε ἔνθα περ πρότερον προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, οὔτ' ἔφη δικᾶν ἔτι· οὐ γάρ οἱ λυσιτελέειν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἐξημεληκότα τοῖσι πέλας δι' ἡμέρης δικάζειν. εἰούσης ὦν ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀνομίας ἔτι πολλῶ μάλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κώμας ἢ πρότερον ἦν, συνελέχθησαν οἱ Μῆδοι ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐδίδουσιν σφίσι λόγον, λέγοντες περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων. ὥς δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω, μάλιστα ἔλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δηϊόκεω φίλοι "Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τρόπῳ τῷ παρεόντι χρεώμενοι δυνατοὶ εἶμεν οἰκίειν τὴν χώραν, φέρε στήσωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα· καὶ οὕτω ἢ τε χώρα εὐνομήσεται καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἔργα τρεψόμεθα, οὐδὲ ὑπ' ἀνομίας ἀνάστατοι ἐσόμεθα." ταῦτά κη λέγοντες πείθουσι ἑωυτοὺς βασιλεύεσθαι.

98. Αὐτίκα δὲ προβαλλομένων ὄντινα στήσονται βασιλέα, ὁ Δηϊόκης ἦν πολλὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνεόμενος, ἐς ὃ τοῦτον καταινέουσι βασιλέα σφίσι εἶναι. ὁ δ' ἐκέλευε αὐτοὺς οἰκία τε ἑωυτῷ ἄξια τῆς βασιλείης οἰκοδομῆσαι καὶ κρατῦναι αὐτὸν δορυφόροις· ποιεῦσι δὴ ταῦτα οἱ Μῆδοι· οἰκοδομέουσιν τε γὰρ αὐτῷ οἰκία μεγάλα τε καὶ ἰσχυρά, ἵνα αὐτὸς ἔφρασε τῆς χώρας, καὶ δορυφόρους αὐτῷ ἐπιτράπουσι ἐκ πάντων Μήδων καταλέξασθαι. ὁ δὲ ὥς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, τοὺς Μήδους ἠνάγκασε ἐν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι καὶ τοῦτο περιστέλλοντας τῶν ἄλλων ἡσσαν ἐπιμέλεισθαι. πειθομένων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Μήδων οἰκοδομέει τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερὰ ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβάτανα κέκληται, ἕτερον ἐτέρῳ κύκλῳ ἐνεστεῶτα. μεμη-



accorded with the truth. Then Deioeces, seeing that all was now entrusted to him, would not sit in his former seat of judgment, and said he would give no more decisions; for it was of no advantage to him (he said) to leave his own business and spend all the day judging the cases of his neighbours. This caused robbery and lawlessness to increase greatly in the townships; and the Medes gathering together conferred about their present affairs, and said (here, as I suppose, the chief speakers were Deioeces' friends), "Since we cannot with our present manner of life dwell peacefully in the country, come, let us set up a king for ourselves; thus will the country be well governed, and we ourselves shall betake ourselves to our business, and cease to be undone by lawlessness." By such words they persuaded themselves to be ruled by a king.

98. The question was forthwith propounded: Whom should they make king? Then every man was loud in putting Deioeces forward and praising Deioeces, till they agreed that he should be their king. He bade them build him houses worthy of his royal power, and arm him with a bodyguard: the Medes did so; they built him great and strong houses at what places soever in the country he showed them, and suffered him to choose a bodyguard out of all their people. But having obtained the power, he constrained the Medes to make him one stronghold and to fortify this more strongly than all the rest. This too the Medes did for him: so he built the great and mighty circles of walls within walls which are now called Agbatana.<sup>1</sup> This fortress is so planned that each

<sup>1</sup> Modern Hamadān, probably; but see Rawlinson's note.

χάνηται δὲ οὕτω τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος ὥστε ὁ ἕτερος τοῦ ἑτέρου κύκλος τοῖσι προμαχεῶσι μούνοισι ἐστὶ ὑψηλότερος. τὸ μὲν κού τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχεῖε κολωνὸς ἑὼν ὥστε τοιοῦτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἐπετηδεύθη. κύκλων δ' ἐόντων τῶν συναπάντων ἑπτὰ, ἐν δὴ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιλῆα ἐνεστί καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δ' αὐτῶν μέγιστον ἐστὶ τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηνέων κύκλον μάλιστα κη τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτου κύκλου οἱ προμαχεῶνες εἰσὶ λευκοί, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου μέλανες, τρίτου δὲ κύκλου φοινίκεοι, τετάρτου δὲ κυάνεοι, πέμπτου δὲ σανδαράκινοι. οὕτω τῶν πέντε κύκλων οἱ προμαχεῶνες ἡνθισμένοι εἰσὶ φαρμάκοισι· δύο δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι εἰσὶ ὃ μὲν καταργυρωμένους ὃ δὲ κατακεχρυσωμένους ἔχων τοὺς προμαχεῶνας.

99. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐωυτῷ τε ἐτείχεε καὶ περὶ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον δῆμον περίξ ἐκέλευε τὸ τεῖχος οἰκέειν. οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων κόσμον τόνδε Δηϊόκης πρῶτος ἐστὶ ὁ καταστησάμενος, μήτε ἐσιέναι παρὰ βασιλέα μηδένα, δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρᾶσθαι, ὁρᾶσθαι τε βασιλέα ὑπὸ μηδενός, πρὸς τε τούτοις ἔτι γελᾶν τε καὶ ἀντίον πτύειν καὶ ἅπασιν εἶναι τοῦτό γε αἰσχρόν. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ἐωυτὸν ἐσέμνυνε τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ὀρώντες οἱ ὁμήλικες, ἐόντες σύντροφοί τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ οἰκίῃς οὐ φλαυροτέρης οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθίην λειπόμενοι, λυπεοῖατο καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, ἀλλ' ἑτεροῖός σφι δοκέει εἶναι μὴ ὀρώσι.

100. Ἐπεῖτε δὲ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε καὶ ἐκράτυνε ἐωυτὸν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἣν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσω

circle of walls is higher than the next outer circle by no more than the height of its battlements; to which end the site itself, being on a hill in the plain, somewhat helps, but chiefly it was accomplished by art. There are seven circles in all; within the innermost circle are the king's dwellings and the treasures; and the longest wall is about the length of the wall that surrounds the city of Athens.<sup>1</sup> The battlements of the first circle are white, of the second black, of the third circle purple, of the fourth blue, and of the fifth orange: thus the battlements of five circles are painted with colours; and the battlements of the last two circles are coated, these with silver and those with gold.

99. Deioeces built these walls for himself and around his own palace; the people were to dwell without the wall. And when all was built, it was Deioeces first who established the rule that no one should come into the presence of the king, but all should be dealt with by the means of messengers; that the king should be seen by no man; and moreover that it should be in particular a disgrace for any to laugh or to spit in his presence. He was careful to hedge himself with all this state in order that the men of his own age (who had been bred up with him and were as nobly born as he and his equals in manly excellence), instead of seeing him and being thereby vexed and haply moved to plot against him, might by reason of not seeing him deem him to be changed from what he had been.<sup>2</sup>

100. Having ordered all these matters and strongly armed himself with sovereign power, he was a hard

<sup>1</sup> About eight miles, according to a scholiast's note on Thucyd. ii. 13; but this is disputed.

<sup>2</sup> Or, perhaps, different from themselves.

χαλεπός· καὶ τὰς τε δίκας γράφοντες ἔσω παρ' ἐκείνουν ἐσπέμπεσκον, καὶ ἐκείνος διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερομένας ἐκπέμπεσκε. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὰς δίκας ἐποίεε, τάδε δὲ ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμέατό οἱ· εἴ τινα πυνθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα, τοῦτον ὅκως μεταπέμψαιτο κατ' ἀξίην ἐκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίεν, καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποί τε καὶ κατήκοοι ἦσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τῆς ἡρχε.

101. Δηϊόκης μὲν νυν τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνέστρεψε μῦνον καὶ τούτου ἦρξε· ἔστι δὲ Μήδων τοσάδε γένεα, Βούσαι Παρητακηνοὶ Στρούχατες Ἀριζαντοὶ Βούδιοι Μάγοι. γένεα μὲν δὴ Μήδων ἐστὶ τοσάδε.

102. Δηϊόκεω δὲ παῖς γίνεται Φραόρτης, ὃς τελευτήσαντος Δηϊόκεω, βασιλεύσαντος τρία καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, παρεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχήν, παραδεξάμενος δὲ οὐκ ἀπεχρᾶτο μύνων Μήδων ἀρχεῖν, ἀλλὰ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας πρῶτοισί τε τούτοισι ἐπεθήκατο καὶ πρῶτους Μήδων ὑπηκόους ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ ἔχων δύο ταῦτα ἔθνεα καὶ ἀμφότερα ἰσχυρά, κατεστρέφετο τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπ' ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλο ἰὼν ἔθνος, ἐς ὃ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους καὶ Ἀσσυρίων τούτους οἱ Νίνον εἶχον καὶ ἡρχον πρότερον πάντων, τότε δὲ ἦσαν μεμουνωμένοι μὲν συμμαχῶν ἅτε ἀπεστεώτων, ἄλλως μέντοι ἐωυτῶν εὖ ἤκοντες, ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης αὐτὸς τε διεφθάρη, ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός.

103. Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Κναξάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηϊόκεω παῖς. οὗτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἔτι γενέσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος τῶν



man in the observance of justice. They would write down their pleas and send them in to him; then would he adjudge upon what was brought him and send his judgments out. This was his manner of deciding cases at law, and he took order too about other matters; for when he heard that a man was doing violence he would send for him and punish him as befitted each offence: and he had spies and eavesdroppers everywhere in his dominions.

101. Deioces, then, united the Median nation, and no other, and ruled it. The Median tribes are these—the Busae, the Paretaceni, the Struchates, the Arizanti, the Budii, the Magi: so many are their tribes.

102. Deioces had a son, Phraortes, who inherited the throne at Deioces' death after a reign of fifty-three years.<sup>1</sup> Having so inherited, he was not content to rule the Medes alone: marching against the Persians, he attacked them first, and they were the first whom he made subject to the Medes. Then, with these two strong nations at his back, he subdued one nation of Asia after another, till he marched against the Assyrians, to wit, those of the Assyrians who held Ninus. These had formerly been rulers of all; but now their allies had dropped from them and they were left alone, yet in themselves a prosperous people: marching then against these Assyrians, Phraortes himself and the greater part of his army perished, after he had reigned twenty-two years.

103. At his death he was succeeded by his son Cyaxares. He is said to have been a much greater

<sup>1</sup> Deioces died in 656 B.C.

## HERODOTUS

προγόνων, καὶ πρῶτός τε ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρὶς ἐκάστους εἶναι, τοὺς τε αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας· πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμῖξ ἦν πάντα ὁμοίως ἀναπεφυρμένα. οὗτος ὁ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἐστὶ μαχεσάμενος ὅτε νύξ ἢ ἡμέρη ἐγένετό σφι μαχομένοισι, καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἄλυσος ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην πᾶσαν συστήσας ἑωυτῷ. συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ἀρχομένους πάντας ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νίνον, τιμωρέων τε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην θέλων ἐξελεῖν. καὶ οἱ, ὡς συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, περικατημένῳ τὴν Νίνον ἐπῆλθε Σκυθέων στρατὸς μέγας, ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων Μαδύης Προτοθύεω παῖς· οἱ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Κιμμερίους ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, τοῦτοισι δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι φεύγουσι οὕτω ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώραν ἀπίκοντο.

104. Ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους τριήκοντα ἡμερέων εὐζώνῳ ὁδός, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ, Σάσπειρες, τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοισι εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ. οὐ μέντοι οἷ γε Σκύθαι ταύτῃ ἐσέβαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατ' ὅδον πολλῶ μακροτέρην ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες τοῖσι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον.

warrior than his fathers: it was he who first arrayed the men of Asia in companies and set each kind in bands apart, the spearmen and the archers and the horsemen: before this they were all blended alike confusedly together. This was the king who fought against the Lydians when the day was turned to night in the battle, and who united under his dominion all Asia that is beyond the river Halys. Collecting all his subjects, he marched against Ninus, wishing to avenge his father and to destroy the city. He defeated the Assyrians in battle; but while he was besieging their city there came down upon him a great army of Scythians, led by their king Madyes son of Protothyes. These had invaded Asia after they had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe: pursuing them in their flight the Scythians came to the Median country.<sup>1</sup>

104. It is thirty days' journey for an unburdened man from the Maeatian lake<sup>2</sup> to the river Phasis and the land of the Colchi; from the Colchi it is an easy matter to cross into Media: there is but one nation between, the Saspires; to pass these is to be in Media. Nevertheless it was not by this way that the Scythians entered; they turned aside and came by the upper and much longer road, having on their right the Caucasian mountains. There the Medes met the Scythians, who worsted them in battle and deprived them of their rule, and made themselves masters of all Asia.

<sup>1</sup> This is the same story as that related in the early chapters of Book IV. The Scythians, apparently, marched eastwards along the northern slope of the Caucasus, turning south between the end of the range and the Caspian. But Herodotus' geography in this story is difficult to follow.—The "Saspires" are in Armenia.

<sup>2</sup> The Maeatian lake is the Sea of Azov.

105. Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἦσαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον· καὶ ἐπεῖτε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ, Ψαμμήτιχος σφέας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δώροισί τε καὶ λιτῇσι ἀποτράπει τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἀναχωρέοντες ὀπίσω ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίης ἐν Ἀσκάλῳ πόλει, τῶν πλεόνων Σκυθέων παρεξελθόντων ἀσινέων, ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱρόν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρόν, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱρῶν ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱρόν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροισι Φοίνικες εἰσὶ οἱ ἰδρυσάμενοι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίης ἔοντες. τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων συλήσασι τὸ ἱρόν τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλῳ καὶ τοῖσι τούτων αἰεὶ ἐκγόνοισι ἐνέσκηψε ὁ θεὸς θήλεαν νοῦσον ὥστε ἅμα λέγουσὶ τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτο σφέας νοσέειν, καὶ ὁρᾶν παρ' ἐωυτοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν χώραν ὡς διακέαται τοὺς καλέουσι Ἐνάρεας οἱ Σκύθαι.

106. Ἐπὶ μὲν νυν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα ἦρχον τῆς Ἀσίης οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ τὰ πάντα σφί ὑπὸ τε ὕβριος καὶ ὀλγωρίας ἀνάστατα ἦν· χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρον ἔπρησσαν παρ' ἐκάστων τὸν ἐκάστοισι ἐπέβαλλον, χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ φόρου ἥρπαζον περιελαύνοντες τοῦτο ὃ τι ἔχοιεν ἕκαστοι. καὶ τούτων μὲν τοὺς πλεῦνας Κυαξάρης τε καὶ Μῆδοι ξεινίσαντες καὶ καταμεθύσαντες κατεφόνευσαν, καὶ οὕτω ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μῆδοι καὶ ἐπεκράτεον τῶν περ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τὴν τε Νίνον



105. Thence they marched against Egypt: and when they were in the part of Syria called Palestine, Psammetichus king of Egypt met them and persuaded them with gifts and prayers to come no further. So they turned back, and when they came on their way to the city of Ascalon in Syria, most of the Scythians passed by and did no harm, but a few remained behind and plundered the temple of Heavenly Aphrodite.<sup>1</sup> This temple, as I learn from what I hear, is the oldest of all the temples of the goddess, for the temple in Cyprus was founded from it, as the Cyprians themselves say: and the temple on Cythera was founded by Phoenicians from this same land of Syria. But the Scythians who pillaged the temple, and all their descendants after them, were afflicted by the goddess with the "female" sickness: insomuch that the Scythians say that this is the cause of their disease, and that those who come to Scythia can see there the plight of the men whom they call "Enareis."<sup>2</sup>

106. The Scythians, then, ruled Asia for twenty-eight years: and all the land was wasted by reason of their violence and their pride, for, besides that they exacted from each the tribute which was laid upon him, they rode about the land carrying off all men's possessions. The greater number of them were entertained and made drunk and then slain by Cyaxares and the Medes: so thus the Medes won back their empire and all that they had formerly possessed; and they

<sup>1</sup> The great goddess (Mother of Heaven and Earth) worshipped by Eastern nations under various names—Mylitta in Assyria, Astarte in Phoenicia: called Heavenly Aphrodite, or simply the Heavenly One, by Greeks.

<sup>2</sup> The derivation of this word is uncertain; it is agreed that the disease was a loss of virility. In iv. 67 *ἐναρής* = ἀνδρόγυνος.

εἶλον (ὥς δὲ εἶλον, ἐν ἐτέροισι λόγοισι δηλώσω)  
καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσαντο  
πλήν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης.

107. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κναξάρης μὲν, βασιλεύσας  
τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα σὺν τοῖσι Σκύθαι ἦρξαν,  
τελευταῖα, ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης Κναξάρει παῖς  
τὴν βασιληίην.

Καὶ οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ τῇ οὖνομα ἔθετο Μαν-  
δάνην· τὴν ἐδόκεε Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ οὐρῆσαι  
τοσοῦτον ὥστε πληῖσαι μὲν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πόλιν,  
ἐπικατακλύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ὑπερ-  
θέμενος δὲ τῶν Μάγων τοῖσι ὄνειροπόλοισι τὸ  
ἐνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἕκαστα  
μαθών. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μανδάνην ταύτην ἐοῦσαν  
ἤδη ἀνδρὸς ὠραίην Μήδων μὲν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἀξίων  
οὐδενὶ διδοῖ γυναῖκα, δεδοικώς τὴν ὄψιν· ὃ δὲ  
Πέρση διδοῖ τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Καμβύσης, τὸν εὗρισκε  
οἰκίης μὲν ἔοντα ἀγαθῆς τρόπου δὲ ἡσυχίου,  
πολλῶ ἐνερθε ἄγων αὐτὸν μέσου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου.

108. Συνοικεούσης δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ τῆς Μαν-  
δάνης, ὃ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει εἶδε ἄλλην  
ὄψιν, ἐδόκεε δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς  
ταύτης φῦναι ἄμπελον, τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν  
τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερθέ-  
μενος τοῖσι ὄνειροπόλοισι, μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν  
Περσέων τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπίτεκα ἐοῦσαν, ἀπικο-  
μένην δὲ ἐφύλασσε βουλόμενος τὸ γενόμενον ἐξ  
αὐτῆς διαφθεῖραι· ἐκ γάρ οἱ τῆς ὄψεος οἱ τῶν  
Μάγων ὄνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον ὅτι μέλλοι ὁ τῆς  
θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύσειν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου.  
ταῦτα δὴ ὢν φυλασσόμενος ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ὥς  
ἐγένετο ὁ Κῦρος, καλέσας Ἀρπαγον ἄνδρα οἰκίῃον

took Ninus (in what manner I will show in a later part of my history), and brought all Assyria except the province of Babylon under their rule.

107. Afterwards Cyaxares died after a reign of forty years (among which I count the years of the Scythian domination) : and his son Astyages reigned in his stead.

Astyages had a daughter, whom he called Mandane: concerning whom he had a dream, that enough water flowed from her to fill his city and overflow all Asia. He imparted this vision to those of the Magi who interpreted dreams, and when he heard what they told him he was terrified: and presently, Mandane being now of marriageable age, he feared the vision too much to give her to any Median worthy to mate with his family, but wedded her to a Persian called Cambyses, a man whom he knew to be well born and of a quiet temper: for Astyages held Cambyses to be much lower than a Mede of middle estate.

108. But in the first year of Mandane's marriage to Cambyses Astyages saw a second vision. He dreamt that there grew from his daughter a vine, which covered the whole of Asia. Having seen this vision, and imparted it to the interpreters of dreams, he sent to the Persians for his daughter, then near her time, and when she came kept her guarded, desiring to kill whatever child she might bear: for the interpreters declared that the meaning of his dream was that his daughter's offspring should rule in his place. Wishing to prevent this, Astyages on the birth of Cyrus summoned to him a man of his household called Harpagus, who was his

καὶ πιστότατόν τε Μήδων καὶ πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἑωυτοῦ, ἔλεγέ οἱ τοιαῦδε. “Ἄρπαγε, πρῆγμα τὸ ἄν τοι προσθέω, μηδαμῶς παραχρήση, μηδὲ ἐμέ τε παραβάλῃ καὶ ἄλλους ἐλόμενος ἐξ ὑστέρης σοὶ αὐτῷ περιπέσης· λάβε τὸν Μανδάνη ἔτεκε παῖδα, φέρων δὲ ἐς σεωυτοῦ ἀπόκτεινον, μετὰ δὲ θάψον τρόπῳ ὅτεψ αὐτὸς βούλειαι.” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε ἄλλοτέ κω παρείδες ἄνδρῃ τῷδε ἄχαρι οὐδέν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ ἐς σέ καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον μηδέν ἐξαμαρτεῖν. ἀλλ’ εἴ τοι φίλον τοῦτο οὕτω γίνεσθαι, χρὴ δὴ τό γε ἐμὸν ὑπηρετέεσθαι ἐπιτηδέως.”

109. Τούτοις ἀμειψάμενος ὁ Ἄρπαγος, ὥς οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἦε κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκία· παρελθὼν δὲ ἔφραζε τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὶ τὸν πάντα Ἀστυάγεος ῥηθέντα λόγον. ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει “Νῦν ὦν τί σοὶ ἐν νόῳ ἐστὶ ποιέειν;” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται “Οὐ τῇ ἐνετέλλετο Ἀστυάγης, οὐδ’ εἰ παραφρονήσῃ τε καὶ μανέεται κάκιον ἢ νῦν μαίνεται, οὐ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ οὐδὲ ἐς φόνον τοιοῦτον ὑπηρετήσω. πολλῶν δὲ εἵνεκα οὐ φονεύσω μιν, καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενὴς ἐστὶ ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι Ἀστυάγης μὲν ἐστὶ γέρων καὶ ἅπαις ἔρσηνος γόνου· εἰ δ’ ἐβελήσῃ τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἢ τυραννίς, τῆς νῦν τὸν υἱὸν κτείνει δι’ ἐμεῦ, ἄλλο τι ἢ λείπεται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος; ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλέος εἵνεκα ἐμοὶ δεῖ τούτον τελευτᾶν τὸν παῖδα, δεῖ μέντοι τῶν τινα Ἀστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονεῖα γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν.”



faithfullest servant among the Medes and was steward of all his possessions: then he said, "Do not mishandle this command of mine, Harpagus, nor forsake me for the service of others, lest hereafter it be the worse for yourself. Take the boy whom Mandane has borne, and carry him to your house and kill him: and then bury him in what manner you yourself will." "King," Harpagus answered, "never yet have you seen me do aught unpleasing to you; and I will ever be careful not to offend against you. But if it is your will that this should so be done, then it behoves that for my part I render you fitting service."

109. Thus answered Harpagus. The child was then given to him, adorned for its death, and he went to his house weeping. When he came in he told his wife all the command given him by Astyages. "Now, therefore," said she to him, "what purpose you to do?" "Not," he answered, "to obey Astyages' behest, no, not though he lose his wits and be more frantic than now he is: even so I myself will not serve his purpose, nor be his instrument for such a murder. There are many reasons why I will not kill the child: he is akin to myself, and further, Astyages is old, and has no male issue: now if after his death the sovereignty passes to this daughter of his, whose son he is now using me to slay, what is left for me but the greatest of all dangers? Nay, for my safety I must see that the boy dies, but the deed must be done by some one of Astyages' own men and not of mine."

110. Ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ αὐτίκα ἄγγελον ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεος τὸν ἡπίστατο νομάς τε ἐπιτηδεοτάτας νέμοντα καὶ ὄρεα θηριωδέστατα· τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Μιτραδάτης, συνοίκεε δὲ ἑωυτοῦ συνδούλῃ, οὐνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἦν τῇ συνοίκεε Κυνὼ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικὴν Σπακώ· τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα Μηδοί. αἱ δὲ ὑπώρειαι εἰσὶ τῶν ὀρέων, ἔνθα τὰς νομάς τῶν βοῶν εἶχε οὗτος δὴ ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν Ἀγβατάνων καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου· ταύτῃ μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρα πρὸς Σασπείρων ὀρεινὴ ἐστὶ κάρτα καὶ ὑψηλὴ τε καὶ ἰδησι συνηρεφής, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη Μηδικὴ χώρα ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἄπεδος. ἐπεὶ ὦν ὁ βουκόλος σπουδῇ πολλῇ καλεόμενος ἀπῆκετο, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἄρπαγος τάδε. “Κελεύει σε Ἀστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο λαβόντα θεῖναι ἐς τὸ ἐρημώτατον τῶν ὀρέων, ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα διαφθαρεῖν· καὶ τάδε τοι ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἦν μὴ ἀποκτείνῃς αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ τεῷ τρόπῳ περιποιήσῃς, ὀλέθρῳ τῷ κακίστῳ σε διαχρήσεσθαι. ἐπορᾶν δὲ ἐκκείμενον τέταγμαί ἐγώ.”

111. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον ἤιε τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὁδὸν καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὴν ἑπαυλιν. τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή, ἐπίτεξ ἐοῦσα πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει οἰχομένου τοῦ βουκόλου ἐς πόλιν. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι ἀμφότεροι ἀλλήλων πέρι, ὃ μὲν τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρωδέων, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ὃ τι οὐκ ἐωθὼς ὁ Ἄρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀπονοστήσας ἐπέστη, οἷα ἐξ ἀέλπτου ἰδοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ εἶρετο προτέρη ὃ τι μιν

110. So saying, he sent forthwith a messenger to that one of Astyages' cowherds whom he knew to pasture his herds in the likeliest places and where the mountains were most haunted of wild beasts. The man's name was Mitrادات, and his wife was a slave like him; her name was in the Greek language Cyno, in the Median Spako: for "spax" is the Median name for a dog. The foothills of the mountains where this cowherd pastured his kine are to the north of Agbatana, towards the Euxine sea: for the rest of Media is everywhere a level plain, but here, on the side of the Saspires,<sup>1</sup> the land is very high and mountainous and covered with woods. So when the cowherd came with all speed at the summons, Harpagus said: "Astyages bids you take this child and lay it in the most desolate part of the mountains, that it may thus perish as soon as may be. And he bids me say, that if you kill not the child, but in any way save it alive, you shall die a terrible death: and it is I who am ordered to see it exposed."

111. Hearing this, the cowherd took up the child and returned by the same way and came to his stead-ing. Now it chanced that his wife too had been expecting her time every day, and providence so ordained that she was brought to bed while her man was away in the city. Each of them was anxious for the other, the husband being afraid about his wife's travail, and the wife because she knew not why Harpagus had so unwontedly sent for her husband. So when he returned and came before her, she was startled by the unexpected sight and asked him before

<sup>1</sup> In the north-western part of Media: modern Azerbaijan.

οὕτω προθύμως Ἄρπαγος μετεπέμψατο. ὁ δὲ εἶπε "ὦ γύναι, εἰδὼν τε εἰς πόλιν ἔλθων καὶ ἤκουσα τὸ μήτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον μήτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι εἰς δεσπότας τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οἶκος μὲν πᾶς Ἄρπάγου κλαυθμῷ κατείχετο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἦα ἔσω. ὥς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὀρέω παιδίον προκείμενον ἀσπαῖρόν τε καὶ κραυγανώμενον, κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ. Ἄρπαγος δὲ ὥς εἶδε με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχίστην ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίον οἶχεσθαι φέροντα καὶ θείναι ἔνθα θηριωδέστατον εἴη τῶν ὀρέων, φᾶς Ἀστυάγεα εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν μοι, πόλλ' ἀπειλήσας εἰ μή σφεα ποιήσαιμι. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναλαβὼν ἔφερον, δοκέων τῶν τινος οἰκετέων εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτὲ κατέδοξα ἔνθεν γε ἦν. ἐθάμβεον δὲ ὀρέων χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἵμασι κεκοσμημένον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κλαυθμὸν κατεστεῶτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἄρπάγου. καὶ πρόκατε δὴ κατ' ὁδὸν πυρθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον θεράποντος, ὃς ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἔξω πόλις ἐνεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος, ὥς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε εἴη παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς καὶ Καμβύσῳ τοῦ Κύρου, καὶ μιν Ἀστυάγης ἐντέλλεται ἀποκτείνειν. νῦν τε ὁδε ἐστί."

112. Ἄμα δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγε ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἐκκαλύψας ἀπεδείκνυε. ἡ δὲ ὥς εἶδε τὸ παιδίον μέγα τε καὶ εὐειδὲς εἶναι, δακρύνασα καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐχρήριζε μηδεμιᾷ τέχνῃ ἐκθεῖναί μιν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἷός τ' εἶναι ἄλλως αὐτὰ ποιέειν· ἐπιφοιτήσῃν γὰρ κατασκόπους ἐξ Ἀρπάγου ἐποψομένους, ἀπολέεσθαί τε κάκιστα ἦν μή σφεα ποιήσῃ. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δεύτερα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. "Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν



he could speak why Harpagus had so instantly summoned him. "Wife," he said, "when I came to the city, I saw and heard what I would I had never seen, and what I would had never happened to our masters. All the house of Harpagus was full of weeping; and I was astonished, and entered in; and immediately I saw a child laid there struggling and crying, decked out with gold and many-coloured raiment. And when Harpagus saw me, he bade me take the child with all speed and bear it away and lay it where there are most wild beasts in the mountains: it was Astyages, he said, who laid this command on me, and Harpagus threatened me grievously if I did not do his will. So I took up the child and bore him away, supposing him to be the child of someone in the household; for I could never have guessed whose he was. But I was amazed at seeing him decked with gold and raiment, and at hearing moreover the manifest sound of weeping in the house of Harpagus. Very soon on the way I heard all the story from a servant who brought me out of the city and gave the child into my charge: to wit, that it was the son of Mandane the king's daughter and Cambyzes the son of Cyrus, and that Astyages bade him slay the child. And now, here is the child."

112. And with that the cowherd uncovered it and showed it. But when the woman saw how fine and fair the child was, she fell a-weeping and laid hold of the man's knees and entreated him by no means to expose him. But the husband said he could do no other; for, he said, there would be comings of spies from Harpagus to see what was done, and he must die a terrible death if he did not obey. So then being unable to move her husband, the woman said next: "Since I cannot move you from your

οὐ δύναμαί σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθεῖναι, σὺ δὲ ὥδε ποίησον, εἰ δὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ὀφθῆναι ἐκκείμενον. τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἐγώ, τέτοκα δὲ τεθνεός. τοῦτο μὲν φέρων πρόθεσ, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς παῖδα ὥς ἐξ ἡμέων ἑόντα τρέφωμεν. καὶ οὕτω οὔτε σὺ ἀλώσσαι ἀδικέων τοὺς δεσπότας οὔτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται· ὃ τε γὰρ τεθνεὺς βασιλῆης ταφῆς κυρήσει καὶ ὁ περιεὼν οὐκ ἀπολείει τὴν ψυχὴν."

113. Κάρτα τε ἔδοξε τῷ βουκόλῳ πρὸς τὰ παρεόντα εὖ λέγειν ἢ γυνή, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐποίησε ταῦτα· τὸν μὲν ἔφερε θανατώσων παῖδα, τοῦτον μὲν παραδιδού τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικί, τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ ἑόντα νεκρὸν λαβὼν ἔθηκε ἐς τὸ ἄγγος ἐν τῷ ἔφερε τὸν ἕτερον· κοσμήσας δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου παιδός, φέρων ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν ὁρέων τιθεῖ. ὥς δὲ τρίτῃ ἡμέρῃ τῷ παιδίῳ ἐκκειμένῳ ἐγένετο, ἦγε ἐς πόλιν ὁ βουκόλος, τῶν τινα προβοσκῶν φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τοῦ Ἀρπάγου ἀποδεικνύειν ἔφη ἕτοιμος εἶναι τοῦ παιδίου τὸν νέκυν. πέμψας δὲ ὁ Ἀρπαγὸς τῶν ἑωυτοῦ δορυφόρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους εἶδέ τε διὰ τούτων καὶ ἔθαψε τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐτέθαπτο, τὸν δὲ ὑστερον τούτων Κῦρον ὀνομασθέντα παραλαβοῦσα ἔτρεφε ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ βουκόλου, οὕνομα ἄλλο κού τι καὶ οὐ Κῦρον θεμένη.

114. Καὶ ὅτε ἦν δεκαέτης ὁ παῖς, πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε γενόμενον ἐξέφηνέ μιν. ἔπαιζε ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ ἦσαν καὶ αἱ βουκολίαι αὗται, ἔπαιζε δὲ μετ' ἄλλων ἡλίκων ἐν ὁδῷ. καὶ οἱ παῖδες παίζοντες εἴλοντο ἑωυτῶν βασιλέα

purpose to expose, then do you do this, if needs must that a child be seen exposed. Know that I too have borne a child, but it was dead; take it now and lay it out, but, for the child of the daughter of Astyages, let us rear it as it were our own; so shall you escape punishment for offending against our masters, and we shall have taken no evil counsel. For the child that is dead will have royal burial, and he that is alive will not lose his life."

113. Thinking that his wife counselled him exceedingly well in his present strait, the cowherd straightway did as she said. He gave his wife the child whom he had brought to kill him, and his own dead child he put into the chest wherein he carried the other, and decked it with all the other child's adornment and laid it out in the most desolate part of the mountains. Then on the third day after the laying out of the child, the cowherd left one of his herdsmen to guard it and went to the city, where he came to Harpagus' house and said he was ready to show the child's dead body. Harpagus sent the most trusty of his bodyguard, and these saw for him and buried the cowherd's child. So it was buried: and the cowherd's wife took and reared the boy who was afterwards named Cyrus; but she gave him not that but some other name.

114. Now when the boy was ten years old, it was revealed in some such wise as this who he was. He was playing in the village where these herdsmen's quarters were: there he was playing in the road with others of his age. The boys in their

εἶναι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπὶ κλησιν παῖδα. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομέειν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἶναι, τὸν δὲ κου τινὰ αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος εἶναι, τῷ δὲ τινὶ τὰς ἀγγελίας φέρειν ἐδίδου γέρας, ὥς ἐκάστω ἔργον προστάσων. εἰς δὴ τούτων τῶν παίδων συμπαίζων, ἔων Ἀρτεμβάρους παῖς ἀνδρὸς δοκίμου ἐν Μήδοισι, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐποίησε τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου, ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν τοὺς ἄλλους παῖδας διαλαβεῖν, πειθομένων δὲ τῶν παίδων ὁ Κύρος τὸν παῖδα τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε μαστιγέων. ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖτε μετείθη τάχιστα, ὥς γε δὴ ἀνάξια ἑωυτοῦ παθὼν, μᾶλλον τι περιημέκτεε, κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς πόλιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀποικτίζετο τῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου ἤντησε, λέγων δὲ οὐ Κύρου (οὐ γὰρ κω ἦν τοῦτο τοῦνομα), ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος παιδός. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτεμβάρης ὀργῇ ὥς εἶχε ἐλθὼν παρὰ τὸν Ἀστυάγεα καὶ ἅμα ἀγόμενος τὸν παῖδα ἀνάρσια πρήγματα ἔφη πεπονθέναι, λέγων “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ σου δούλου, βουκόλου δὲ παιδὸς ὧδε περιυβρίσμεθα,” δεικνὺς τοῦ παιδὸς τοὺς ὤμους.

115. Ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν Ἀστυάγης, θέλων τιμωρῆσαι τῷ παιδί τιμῆς τῆς Ἀρτεμβάρους εἵνεκα, μετεπέμπετο τὸν τε βουκόλον καὶ τὸν παῖδα. ἐπεῖτε δὲ παρῆσαν ἀμφοτέρω, βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Κύρον ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἔφη “Σὺ δὴ ἔων τοῦδε τοιούτου ἑόντος παῖς ἐτόλμησας τὸν τοῦδε παῖδα ἑόντος πρώτου παρ’ ἐμοὶ ἀεικέλῃ τοιῇδε περισπεῖν;” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο ὧδε. “ὦ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ ταῦτα τοῦτον ἐποίησα σὺν δίκῃ. οἱ γὰρ με ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες, τῶν καὶ ὧδε ἦν, παίζοντες



play chose for their king that one who passed for the son of the cowherd. Then he set them severally to their tasks, some to the building of houses, some to be his bodyguard, one (as I suppose) to be the King's Eye; to another he gave the right of bringing him messages; to each he gave his proper work. Now one of these boys who played with him was son to Artembares, a notable Median; as he did not obey the command Cyrus gave him, Cyrus bade the other boys seize him, and when they did so he dealt very roughly with the boy and scourged him. As soon as he was loosed, very angry at the wrong done him, he went down to his father in the city and complained of what he had met with at the hands of the son of Astyages' cowherd,—not calling him Cyrus, for that name had not yet been given. Artembares went with his anger fresh upon him to Astyages, bringing his son and telling of the cruel usage he had had: "O King," said he, "see the outrage done to us by the son of your slave, the son of a cowherd!" and with that he showed his son's shoulders.

115. When Astyages heard and saw, he was ready to avenge the boy in justice to Artembares' rank: so he sent for the cowherd and his son. When they were both present, Astyages said, fixing his eyes on Cyrus, "Is it you, then, the son of such a father, who have dared to deal so despitefully with the son of the greatest of my courtiers?" "Nay, master," answered Cyrus, "what I did to him I did with justice. The boys of the village, of whom he was one, chose me

σφέων αὐτῶν ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα· ἐδόκεον γάρ σφι εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεότατος. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον, οὗτος δὲ ἀνηκούστεέ τε καὶ λόγον εἶχε οὐδένα, ἐς ὃ ἔλαβε τὴν δίκην. εἰ ὦν δὴ τοῦδε εἵνεκα ἄξιός τευ κακοῦ εἰμί, ὅδε τοι πάρειμι."

116. Ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν Ἀστυάγεα ἐσήμει ἀνάγνωσις αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ὃ τε χαρακτήρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι ἐδόκεε ἐς ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἐλευθερωτέρη εἶναι, ὃ τε χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσιος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐδόκεε συμβαίνειν. ἐκπλαγεῖς δὲ τούτοισι ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄφθογγος ἦν· μόγις δὲ δὴ κατε ἀνευχεθῆς εἶπε, θέλων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν Ἀρτεμβάρεια, ἵνα τὸν βουκόλον μῦνον λαβὼν βασανίσῃ, "Ἀρτέμβαρεις, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ποιήσω ὥστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπιμέμφεισθαι." τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀρτεμβάρεια πέμπει, τὸν δὲ Κῦρον ἤγον ἔσω οἱ θεράποντες κελεύσαντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπελέλειπτο ὁ βουκόλος μῦνος μυνόθεν, τάδε αὐτὸν εἶρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης, κόθεν λάβοι τὸν παῖδα καὶ τίς εἴη ὁ παραδούς. ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγονέναι καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἔτι παρ' ἑωυτῷ. Ἀστυάγης δέ μιν οὐκ εὖ βουλευέσθαι ἔφη ἐπιθυμέοντα ἐς ἀνάγκας μεγάλας ἀπικνέεσθαι, ἅμα τε λέγων ταῦτα ἐσήμεινε τοῖσι δορυφόροις λαμβάνειν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας οὕτω δὴ ἔφαινε τὸν ἔοντα λόγον· ἀρχόμενος δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διεξήμει τῇ ἀληθείᾳ χρεώμενος, καὶ κατέβαινε ἐς λιτάς τε καὶ συγγνώμην ἑωυτῷ κελεύων ἔχειν αὐτόν.

117. Ἀστυάγης δὲ τοῦ μὲν βουκόλου τὴν ἀληθείην ἐκφήναντος λόγον ἤδη καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο,

in their play to be their king : for they thought me the fittest to rule. The other boys then did as I bid them : but this one was disobedient and cared nothing for me, till he got his deserts. So now if I deserve punishment for this, here am I to take it."

116. While he spoke, it seemed to Astyages that he recognised Cyrus; the fashion of the boy's countenance was like (he thought) to his own, and his manner of answering was freer than customary : and the time of the exposure seemed to agree with Cyrus' age. Being thereby astonished, he sat awhile silent; but when at last with difficulty he could collect his wits, he said (for he desired to rid himself of Artembares and question the cowherd with none present), "I will so act, Artembares, that you and your son shall have no cause of complaint." So he sent Artembares away, and the servants led Cyrus within at Astyages' bidding. Then, the cowherd being left quite alone, Astyages asked him whence he had got the boy and from whose hands. The cowherd answered that Cyrus was his own son and that the mother was still in his house. "You are ill advised," said Astyages, "desiring, as you do, to find yourself in a desperate strait,"—and with that he made a sign to the guard to seize him. Then under stress of necessity the cowherd declared to him all the story, telling all truly as it had happened from the beginning : and at the last he prayed and entreated that the king would pardon him.

117. When the truth had been so declared Astyages took thereafter less account of the cowherd, but

Ἄρπιάγῃ δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος καλέειν αὐτὸν τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε. ὥς δὲ οἱ παρῆν ὁ Ἄρπαγος, εἶρετό μιν ὁ Ἀστυάγης. "Ἄρπαγε, τέφῳ δὴ μόρῳ τὸν παῖδα κατεχρήσαο τὸν τοι παρέδωκα ἐκ θυγατρὸς γεγονότα τῆς ἐμῆς;" ὁ δὲ Ἄρπαγος ὥς εἶδε τὸν βουκόλον ἔνδον εἶντα, οὐ τράπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὁδόν, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχόμενος ἀλίσκηται, ἀλλὰ λέγει τάδε. "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεῖτε παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον, ἐβούλενον σκοπέων ὅπως σοί τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόον, καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σὲ γινόμενος ἀναμάρτητος μήτε θυγατρὶ τῇ σῇ μήτε αὐτῷ σοὶ εἶην αὐθέντης. ποιέω δὴ ὧδε· καλέσας τὸν βουκόλον τόνδε παραδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον, φάς σε εἶναι τὸν κελεύοντα ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτό. καὶ λέγων τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἐψευδόμην· σὺ γὰρ ἐνετέλλεο οὕτω. παραδίδωμι μέντοι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε ἐντειλάμενος, θεῖναί μιν ἐς ἔρημον ὄρος καὶ παραμένοντα φυλάσσειν ἄχρι οὐ τελευτήσῃ, ἀπειλήσας παντοῖα τῷδε ἦν μὴ τάδε ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ποιήσαντος τούτου τὰ κελευόμενα ἐτελεύτησε τὸ παιδίον, πέμψας τῶν εὐνούχων τοὺς πιστοτάτους καὶ εἶδον οἱ ἐκείνων καὶ ἔθαψά μιν. οὕτω ἔσχε ὦ βασιλεῦ περὶ τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου, καὶ τοιούτῳ μόρῳ ἐχρήσατο ὁ παῖς."

118. Ἄρπαγος μὲν δὴ τὸν ἰθὺν ἔφαινε λόγον· Ἀστυάγης δὲ κρύπτων τὸν οἱ ἐνείχε χόλον διὰ τὸ γεγονός, πρῶτα μὲν, κατὰ περ ἤκουσε αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ πρήγμα, πάλιν ἀπηγέετο τῷ Ἄρπιάγῳ, μετὰ δὲ ὥς οἱ ἐπαλλελόγητο, κατέβαινε λέγων ὥς περίεστί τε ὁ παῖς καὶ τὸ γεγονός ἔχει καλῶς. "Τῷ τε γὰρ πεποιημένῳ" ἔφη λέγων "ἐς τὸν παῖδα τούτον ἔκαμνον μεγάλως, καὶ θυγατρὶ



he was very wroth with Harpagus and bade the guards summon him. Harpagus came, and Astyages asked him, "Harpagus, in what manner did you kill the boy, my daughter's son, whom I gave you?" Harpagus saw the cowherd in the house, and did not take the way of falsehood, lest he should be caught and confuted: "O King," he said, "when I took the boy, I thought and considered how I should do you pleasure, and not offend against you, yet not be held a murderer by your daughter or yourself. This then I did: I called to me yonder cowherd, and gave over the child to him, telling him that it was you who gave the command to kill it. And that was the truth; for such was your command. But I gave the child with the charge that the cowherd should lay it on a desolate mountain-side, and wait there and watch till it be dead; and I threatened him with all punishments if he did not accomplish this. Then, when he had done what he was bid, and the child was dead, I sent the trustiest of my eunuchs and by them I saw and buried the body. This, O king, is the tale of the matter, and such was the end of the boy."

118. So Harpagus spoke the plain truth. Astyages hid the anger that he had against him for what had been done, and first he related the story again to Harpagus as he had heard it from the cowherd, then, after so repeating it, he made an end by saying that the boy was alive and good had come of it all. "For," so he said in his speech, "I was greatly afflicted by what had been done to this boy, and it weighed

τῇ ἐμῇ διαβεβλημένος οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιεύμην. ὥς ὢν τῆς τύχης εὖ μετεστεώσης, τοῦτο μὲν τὸν σεωυτοῦ παῖδα ἀπόπεμψον παρὰ τὸν παῖδα τὸν νεήλυδα, τοῦτο δέ (σῶστρα γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλλω θύειν τοῖσι θεῶν τιμῇ αὕτη προσκίεται) πάρισθί μοι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον."

119. "Ἀρπαγος μὲν ὥς ἤκουσε ταῦτα, προσκυνήσας καὶ μεγάλα ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε ἡ ἁμαρτὰς οἱ ἐς δέον ἐγεγόνεε καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τύχησι χρηστῆσι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκέκλητο, ἦε ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ἐσελθὼν δὲ τὴν ταχίστην, ἣν γάρ οἱ παῖς εἰς μῦθος ἔτεα τρία καὶ δέκα κου μάλιστα γεγονώς, τοῦτον ἐκπέμπει ἵεναι τε κελεύων ἐς Ἀστυάγεος καὶ ποιέειν ὃ τι ἂν ἐκεῖνος κελεύῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρὴς ἔων φράζει τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ συγκυρήσαντα. Ἀστυάγης δέ, ὥς οἱ ἀπίκετο ὁ Ἀρπάγου παῖς, σφάξας αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ μέλεα διελὼν τὰ μὲν ὥπτησε τὰ δὲ ἤψησε τῶν κρεῶν, εὖτυκα δὲ ποιησάμενος εἶχε ἑτοιμα. ἐπεῖτε δὲ τῆς ὥρης γινομένης τοῦ δεῖπνου παρήσαν οἱ τε ἄλλοι δαιτυμόνες καὶ ὁ Ἀρπαγος, τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀστυάγει παρετιθέατο τράπεζαι ἐπίπλεαι μηλέων κρεῶν, Ἀρπάγῳ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ, πλήν κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἄκρων χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν, τὰλλα πάντα· ταῦτα δὲ χωρὶς ἔκειτο ἐπὶ κανέῳ κατακεκαλυμμένα. ὥς δὲ τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ ἑδόκεε ἅλῃς ἔχειν τῆς βορῆς, Ἀστυάγης εἰρετό μιν εἰ ἡσθεῖν τι τῇ θοίνῃ. φαμένου δὲ Ἀρπάγου καὶ κάρτα ἡσθῆναι, παρέφερον τοῖσι προσέκειτο τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, Ἀρπαγον δὲ ἐκέλευον προσστάντες ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ βούλεται αὐτῶν.

heavily on me that I was estranged from my daughter. Now, therefore, in this lucky turn of fortune, send your own son to the boy who is newly come, and come hither to dine with me, for I am about to make sacrifice for the safety of my grandson to the gods to whom this honour is due."

119. When Harpagus heard this he did obeisance and went to his home, greatly pleased to find that his offence had served the needful end and that he was invited to dinner in honour of this fortunate day. Coming in, he bade his only son, a boy of about thirteen years of age, to go to Astyages' palace and do whatever the king commanded, and in his great joy he told his wife all that had happened. But when Harpagus' son came, Astyages cut his throat and tearing him limb from limb roasted some and boiled some of the flesh, and the work being finished kept all in readiness. So when it came to the hour for dinner and Harpagus was present among the rest of the guests, dishes of sheeps' flesh were set before Astyages and the others, but Harpagus was served with the flesh of his own son, all but the head and hands and feet, which lay apart covered up in a basket. And when Harpagus seemed to have eaten his fill, Astyages asked him, "Are you pleased with your meal, Harpagus?" "Exceeding well pleased," Harpagus answered. Then those whose business it was brought him in the covered basket the head and hands and feet of his son, and they stood before Harpagus and bade him uncover and take of them what he would. Harpagus did so;

πειθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἄρπαγος καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων ὁρᾷ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα, ἰδὼν δὲ οὔτε ἐξεπλάγη ἐντὸς τε ἑωυτοῦ γίνεται. εἶρετο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀστυάγης εἰ γινώσκει ὅτεν θηρίου κρέα βεβρώκοι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν ἔφη καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρδῃ. τούτοισι δὲ ἀμειψάμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἦε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἔμελλε, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἀλίσας θάψειν τὰ πάντα.

120. Ἀρπάγῳ μὲν Ἀστυάγης δίκην ταύτην ἐπέθηκε, Κύρου δὲ πέρι βουλευῶν ἐκάλεσε τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν Μάγων οἱ τὸ ἐνύπνιον οἱ ταύτη ἔκριναν. ἀπικομένους δὲ εἶρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῇ ἔκρινάν οἱ τὴν ὄψιν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα εἶπαν, λέγοντες ὥς βασιλεῦσαι χρῆν τὸν παῖδα, εἰ ἐπέζωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε πρότερον. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται αὐτοὺς τοῖσιδε. "Ἔστι τε ὁ παῖς καὶ περίεστι, καὶ μιν ἐπ' ἀγροῦ διαιτώμενον οἱ ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ πάντα ὅσα περ οἱ ἀληθεί λόγῳ βασιλέες ἐτελέωσε ποιήσας· καὶ γὰρ δορυφόρους καὶ θυρωροὺς καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διατάξας ἦρχε. καὶ νῦν ἐς τί ὑμῖν ταῦτα φαίνεται φέρειν;" εἶπαν οἱ Μάγοι "Εἰ μὲν περίεστί τε καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ὁ παῖς μὴ ἐκ προνοίας τινός, θάρσεέ τε τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὸ δεύτερον ἄρχει. παρὰ σμικρὰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν λογίων ἡμῖν ἓνια κεχώρηκε, καὶ τά γε τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐχόμενα τελέως ἐς ἀσθενὲς ἔρχεται." ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἀστυάγης τοῖσιδε. "Καὶ αὐτὸς ὦ Μάγοι ταύτη πλείστος γνώμων εἰμί, βασιλέος ὀνομασθέντος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξήκειν τε τὸν ὄνειρον καὶ μοι τὸν παῖδα τούτου



he uncovered and saw what was left of his son: this he saw, but he mastered himself and was not dismayed. Astyages asked him, "Know you what beast's flesh you have eaten?" "Yea," he said, "I know, and all that the king does is pleasing to me." With that answer he took the rest of the flesh and went to his house, purposing then, as I suppose, to collect and bury all.

120. Thus did Astyages punish Harpagus. But, to aid him to resolve about Cyrus, he called to him the same Magians who had interpreted his dream as I have said: and when they came Astyages asked them how they had interpreted his vision. They answered as before, and said that the boy must have been made king had he lived and not died first. Then said Astyages, "The boy is saved and alive, and when he was living in the country the boys of his village made him king, and he did duly all that is done by true kings: for he assigned to each severally the places of bodyguards and sentinels and messengers and all else, and so ruled. And to what, think you, does this tend?" "If the boy is alive," said the Magians, "and has been made king without foreknowledge, then fear not for aught that he can do but keep a good heart: he will not be made king a second time. Know that even in our prophecies it is often but a small thing that has been foretold, and the perfect fulfilment of the dream is but a trifling matter." "I too, ye Magians," said Astyages, "am much of your mind—that the dream came true when the boy was called king, and that I

εἶναι δεινὸν ἔτι οὐδεν. ὅμως μὲν γέ τοι συμβουλεύσατέ μοι εὖ περισκεψάμενοι τὰ μέλλει ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι οἴκῳ τε τῷ ἐμῷ καὶ ὑμῖν." εἶπαν πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Μάγοι "ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστὶ κατορθοῦσθαι ἀρχὴν τὴν σὴν. κείνως μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοτριοῦνται ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον περιμοῦσα ἔοντα Πέρσῃν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔοντες Μῆδοι δουλούμεθά τε καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς γινόμεθα πρὸς Περσέων, ἔοντες ξεῖνοι· σέο δ' ἐνεστεῶτος βασιλέος, ἔοντος πολιήτεω, καὶ ἄρχομεν τὸ μέρος καὶ τιμὰς πρὸς σέο μεγάλας ἔχομεν. οὕτω ὦν πάντως ἡμῖν σέο καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς προοπτεόν ἐστί. καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερόν τι ἐνωρῶμεν, πᾶν ἂν σοὶ προεφράζομεν. νῦν δὲ ἀποσκήψαντος τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐς φαῦλον, αὐτοὶ τε θαρσέομεν καὶ σοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα παρακελευόμεθα. τὸν δὲ παῖδα τοῦτον ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπόπεμψαι ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς γειναμένους."

121. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐχάρη τε καὶ καλέσας τὸν Κῦρον ἔλεγέ οἱ τάδε. "ὦ παῖ, σὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ δι' ὄψιν ὄνειρον οὐ τελέην ἡδίκηον, τῇ σεωντοῦ δὲ μοίρῃ περίεις· νῦν ὦν ἴθι χαίρων ἐς Πέρσας, πομποὺς δὲ ἐγὼ ἅμα πέμψω. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα εὔρησεις οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην τε τὸν βουκόλον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ."

122. Ταῦτα εἶπας ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἀποπέμπει τὸν Κῦρον. νοστήσαντα δὲ μιν ἐς τοῦ Καμβύσεω τὰ οἰκία ἐδέξαντο οἱ γεινάμενοι, καὶ δεξάμενοι ὥς ἐπύθοντο, μεγάλως ἀσπάζοντο οἷα δὴ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτίκα τότε τελευτῆσαι, ἱστόρεόν τε ὅτεω τρόπῳ περιγένοιτο. ὁ δὲ σφί ἔλεγε, φᾶς πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ

have no more to fear from him. Nevertheless consider well and advise me what shall be safest both for my house and for you." The Magians said, "King, we too are much concerned that your sovereignty should stand: for in the other case it goes away from your nation to this boy who is a Persian, and so we Medes are enslaved and deemed of no account by the Persians, being as we are of another blood, but while you are established king, who are our countryman, we have our share of power, and great honour is paid us by you. Thus, then, it behoves us by all means to take thought for you and your sovereignty. And at the present time if we saw any danger we would declare all to you: but now the dream has had but a trifling end, and we ourselves have confidence and counsel you to be like-minded. As for this boy, send him away from your sight to the Persians and to his parents."

121. Hearing this, Astyages was glad, and calling Cyrus, "My lad," he said, "I did you wrong by reason of the vision I had in a dream, that meant naught, but by your own destiny you still live; now therefore, get you to the Persians, and good luck go with you; I will send those that shall guide you. When you are there you shall find a father and mother of other estate than Mitradates the cowherd and his wife."

122. So said Astyages and sent Cyrus away. When he returned to Cambyzes' house, his parents received him there, and learning who he was they welcomed him heartily, for they had supposed that long ago he had straightway been killed, and they asked him how his life had been saved. Then he told them, and said that till now he had known

εἰδέναι ἄλλ' ἡμαρτηκέναι πλεῖστον, κατ' ὁδὸν δὲ πυθέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πάθην· ἐπίστασθαι μὲν γὰρ ὥς βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος εἶη παῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κεῖθεν ὁδοῦ τὸν πάντα λόγον τῶν πομπῶν πυθέσθαι. τραφῆναι δὲ ἔλεγε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικός, ἥιέ τε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ παντός, ἣν τέ οἱ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἢ Κυνώ. οἱ δὲ τοκέες παραλαβόντες τὸ οὖνομα τοῦτο, ἵνα θειοτέρως δοκέῃ τοῖσι Πέρσησι περιεῖναί σφι ὁ παῖς, κατέβαλον φάτιν ὥς ἐκκείμενον Κύρον κύων ἐξέθρεψε.

123. Ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν ἡ φάτις αὕτη κεχώρηκε. Κύρῳ δὲ ἀνδρευμένῳ καὶ ἐόντι τῶν ἡλίκων ἀνδρησιότατῳ καὶ προσφιλεστάτῳ προσέκειτο ὁ Ἄρπαγος δῶρα πέμπων, τίσασθαι Ἀστυάγεα ἐπιθυμέων· ἀπ' ἑωυτοῦ γὰρ ἐόντος ἰδιώτεω οὐκ ἐνώρα τιμωρίην ἐσομένην ἐς Ἀστυάγεα, Κύρον δὲ ὁρέων ἐπιτρεφόμενον ἐποιέετο σύμμαχον, τὰς πάθας τὰς Κύρου τῆσι ἑωυτοῦ ὁμοιούμενος. πρὸ δ' ἔτι τούτου τάδε οἱ κατέργαστο· ἐόντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος πικροῦ ἐς τοὺς Μήδους, συμμίσγων ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ὁ Ἄρπαγος τῶν πρώτων Μήδων ἀνέπειθε ὥς χρὴ Κύρον προστησαμένους Ἀστυάγεα παῦσαι τῆς βασιληίης. κατεργασμένου δὲ οἱ τούτου καὶ ἐόντος ἐτοίμου, οὕτω δὴ τῷ Κύρῳ διαιτωμένῳ ἐν Πέρσησι βουλόμενος Ἄρπαγος δηλώσαι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ γνώμην ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε ἅτε τῶν ὁδῶν φυλασσομενέων, ὃ δὲ ἐπιτεχνᾶται τοιόνδε· λαγὸν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ ἀνασχίσας τούτου τὴν γαστέρα καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποτίλας, ὥς δὲ εἶχε οὕτω ἐσέθηκε βυβλίον, γράψας τὰ οἱ ἐδόκεε· ἀπορράψας δὲ τοῦ λαγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ δίκτυα δούς ἅτε θηρευτῇ τῶν



nothing but been greatly deceived, but that on the way he had heard all the story of his misfortune; for he had thought, he said, that Astyages' cowherd was his father, but in his journey from the city his escort had told him all the tale. And he had been reared, he said, by the cowherd's wife, and he was full of her praises, and in his tale he was ever speaking of Cyno. Hearing this name, his parents set about a story that Cyrus when exposed was suckled by a bitch, thinking thereby to make the story of his saving seem the more marvellous to the Persians.

123. This then was the beginning of that legend. But as Cyrus grew to man's estate, being the manliest and best loved of his peers, Harpagus courted him and sent him gifts, wishing to be avenged on Astyages; for he saw no hope of a private man like himself punishing Astyages, but as he saw Cyrus growing up he sought to make him an ally, for he likened Cyrus' misfortune to his own. He had already brought matters so far that—since Astyages dealt harshly with the Medians—he consorted with each of the chief Medians and persuaded them to make Cyrus their leader and depose Astyages. So much being ready and done, Harpagus desired to make known his intent to Cyrus, then dwelling among the Persians; but the roads were guarded, and he had no plan for sending a message but this—he artfully slit the belly of a hare, and then leaving it as it was without further harm he put into it a paper on which he wrote what he thought fit. Then he sewed up the hare's belly, and sent it to Persia by the trustiest of his servants,

οἰκετέων τῷ πιστοτάτῳ, ἀπέστελλε εἰς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ ἀπὸ γλώσσης διδόντα τὸν λαγὸν Κύρῳ ἐπειπεῖν αὐτοχειρίῃ μιν διελεῖν καὶ μηδένα οἱ ταῦτα ποιεῖντι παρεῖναι.

124. Ταῦτά τε δὴ ὦν ἐπιτελέα ἐγίνετο καὶ ὁ Κύρος παραλαβὼν τὸν λαγὸν ἀνέσχισε· εὐρῶν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ βυβλίον ἐνέον λαβὼν ἐπελέγετο, τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγε τάδε. “ὦ παῖ Καμβύσεω, σὲ γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορῶσι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτὲ εἰς τοσοῦτο τύχης ἀπίκεν· σύ νυν Ἀστυάγεα τὸν σεωντοῦ φονέα τίσαι. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τούτου προθυμίην τέθνηκας, τὸ δὲ κατὰ θεοὺς τε καὶ ἐμὲ περίεις· τά σε καὶ πάλοι δοκέω πάντα ἐκμεμαθηκέναι, σέο τε αὐτοῦ πέρι ὡς ἐπρήχθη, καὶ οἷα ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος πέπονθα, ὅτι σὲ οὐκ ἀπέκτεινα ἀλλὰ ἔδωκα τῷ βουκόλῳ. σύ νυν, ἣν βούλῃ ἐμοὶ πείθεσθαι, τῆς περ Ἀστυάγης ἄρχῃ χώρης, ταύτης ἀπάσης ἄρξεις. Πέρσας γὰρ ἀναπείσας ἀπίστασθαι στρατηλάτῃ ἐπὶ Μήδους· καὶ ἦν τε ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος ἀποδεχθῆναι στρατηγὸς ἀντὶ σέυ, ἔστι τοι τὰ σὺ βούλει, ἦν τε τῶν τις δοκίμων ἄλλος Μήδων· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἀποστάντες ἀπ’ ἐκείνου καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς σέο Ἀστυάγεα καταίρειν πειρήσονται. ὡς ὦν ἐτοίμου τοῦ γε ἐνθάδε ἐόντος, ποίεις ταῦτα καὶ ποίεις κατὰ τάχος.”

125. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος ἐφρόντιζε ὅτεω τρόπῳ σοφωτάτῳ Πέρσας ἀναπείσει ἀπίστασθαι, φροντίζων δὲ εὐρίσκεται ταῦτα καιριώτατα εἶναι ἐποίει δὴ ταῦτα. γράψας εἰς βυβλίον τὰ ἐβούλετο, ἀλίην τῶν Περσέων ἐποιήσατο, μετὰ δὲ ἀναπτύξας τὸ βυβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἔφη Ἀστυαγέα μιν στρατηγὸν Περσέων ἀποδεικνύναι. “Νῦν τε,” ἔφη

giving him nets to carry as if he were a huntsman. The messenger was charged to give Cyrus the hare and bid him by word of mouth cut it open with his own hands, none other being present.

124. All this was done. Cyrus took the hare and slit it and read the paper which was in it; the writing was as follows: "Son of Cambyses, seeing that the gods watch over you (for else you had not so prospered) do you now avenge yourself on Astyages, your murderer; for according to his intent you are dead; it is by the gods' doing, and mine, that you live. Methinks you have long ago heard the story of what was done concerning yourself and how Astyages entreated me because I slew you not but gave you to the cowherd. If then you will be counselled by me, you shall rule all the country which is now ruled by Astyages. Persuade the Persians to rebel, and lead their army against the Medes; then you have your desire, whether I be appointed to command the army against you or some other notable man among the Medians; for they will of themselves revolt from Astyages and join you and endeavour to pull him down. Seeing then that all here is ready, do as I say and do it quickly."

125. When Cyrus heard this, he considered how most cunningly he might persuade the Persians to revolt; and this he thought most apt to the occasion, and this he did: writing what he would on a paper, he gathered an assembly of the Persians, and then unfolded the paper and declared that therein Astyages appointed him leader of the Persian armies. "Now,"

λέγων, "ὦ Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω ὑμῖν παρεῖναι ἕκαστον ἔχοντα δρέπανον." Κῦρος μὲν ταῦτα προηγόρευσε. ἔστι δὲ Περσέων συχνὰ γένηα, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κῦρος συνάλισε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ Μήδων. ἔστι δὲ τάδε, ἐξ ὧν ὅλλοι πάντες ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι, Πασαργάδαι Μαράφιοι Μάσπιοι. τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἀριστοί, ἐν τοῖσι καὶ Ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ φρήτρη, ἔνθεν οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ Περσεῖδαι γεγόνασι. ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἷδε, Πανθιαλαῖοι Δηρουσιαῖοι Γερμάνιοι. οὗτοι μὲν πάντες ἀροτῆρες εἰσὶ, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι νομάδες, Δάοι Μάρδοι Δροπικοὶ Σαγάρτιοι.

126. Ὡς δὲ παρήσαν ἅπαντες ἔχοντες τὸ προειρημένον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος, ἦν γάρ τις χῶρος τῆς Περσικῆς ἀκανθώδης ὅσον τε ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίους ἢ εἴκοσι πάντῃ, τοῦτόν σφι τὸν χῶρον προεῖπε ἐξημερῶσαι ἐν ἡμέρῃ. ἐπιτελεσάντων δὲ τῶν Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον, δευτέρᾳ σφι προεῖπε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην παρεῖναι λελουμένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὰ τε αἰπόλια καὶ τὰς ποίμνας καὶ τὰ βουκόλια ὁ Κῦρος πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς συναλίσας ἐς τὰντὸ ἔθυσε καὶ παρεσκεύαζε ὡς δεξόμενος τὸν Περσέων στρατόν, πρὸς δὲ οἶνω τε καὶ σιτίοισι ὡς ἐπιτηδεοτάτοις. ἀπικομένους δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τοὺς Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμῶνα εὐώχῃ. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, εἶρετο σφέας ὁ Κῦρος κότερα τὰ τῇ προτεραίῃ εἶχον ἢ τὰ παρεόντα σφι εἶη αἰρετώτερα. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον· τὴν μὲν γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην πάντα σφι κακὰ ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ τότε παρεούσαν πάντα ἀγαθὰ. παραλαβὼν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ Κῦρος παρεγύμνου τὸν πάντα



said he in his speech, "I bid you all, men of Persia, to come each of you with a sickle." (There are many tribes in Persia : those of them whom Cyrus assembled and persuaded to revolt from the Medes were the Pasargadae, the Maraphii, and the Maspii. On these hang all the other Persians. The chief tribe is that of the Pasargadae ; to them belongs the clan of the Achaemenidae, the royal house of Persia. The other Persian tribes are the Panthialaei, the Derusiaei, and the Germanii, all tillers of the soil, and the Dai, the Mardi, the Dropici, the Sagartii, all wandering herdsmen.)

126. So when they all came with sickles as commanded, Cyrus bade them clear and make serviceable in one day a certain thorny tract of Persia, of eighteen or twenty furlongs each way in extent. The Persians accomplished the appointed task ; Cyrus then commanded them to wash themselves and come on the next day ; and meanwhile, gathering together his father's goats and sheep and oxen in one place, he slew and prepared them as a feast for the Persian host, providing also wine and all foods that were most suitable. When the Persians came on the next day he made them sit and feast in a meadow. After dinner he asked them which pleased them best, their task of yesterday or their present state. They answered that the difference was great : all yesterday they had had nought but evil, to-day nought but good. Then taking their word from their mouths Cyrus laid

λόγον, λέγων "Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὕτω ὑμῖν ἔχει. βουλομένοισι μὲν ἐμέο πείθεσθαι ἔστι τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀγαθὰ, οὐδένα πόνον δουλοπρεπέα ἔχουσι, μὴ βουλομένοισι δὲ ἐμέο πείθεσθαι εἰσὶ ὑμῖν πόνοι τῷ χθιζῷ παραπλήσιοι ἀναρίθμητοι. νῦν ὧν ἐμέο πειθόμενοι γίνεσθε ἐλεύθεροι. αὐτός τε γὰρ δοκέω θείῃ τύχῃ γεγρονώς τάδε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι, καὶ ὑμέας ἡγημαὶ ἄνδρας Μήδων εἶναι οὐ φαυλοτέρους οὔτε τᾶλλα οὔτε τὰ πολέμια. ὥς ὧν ἐχόντων ὧδε, ἀπίστασθε ἀπ' Ἀστυάγεος τὴν ταχίστην."

127. Πέρσαι μὲν νυν προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι ἄσμενοι ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πάλαι δεινὸν ποιέμενοι ὑπὸ Μήδων ἄρχεσθαι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο Κῦρον ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκάλεε αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπαγγέλλειν ὅτι πρότερον ἤξοι παρ' ἐκείνῳ ἢ Ἀστυάγης αὐτὸς βουλήσεται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης Μήδους τε ὥπλισε πάντας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ὥστε θεοβλαβῆς ἐὼν Ἀρπαγον ἀπέδεξε, λήθην ποιεύμενος τὰ μιν ἑόργεε. ὥς δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνέμισγον, οἱ μὲν τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, ὅσοι μὴ τοῦ λόγου μετέσχον, οἱ δὲ αὐτομόλεον πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐθελοκάκεόν τε καὶ ἔφευγον.

128. Διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ στρατεύματος αἰσχροῶς, ὡς ἐπύθετο τάχιστα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἔφη ἀπειλέων τῷ Κύρῳ "Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὥς Κῦρός γε χαιρήσει." τοσαῦτα εἰπας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Μάγων τοὺς ὄνειροπόλους, οἱ μιν ἀνέγνωσαν μετεῖναι τὸν Κῦρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε, μετὰ δὲ ὥπλισε

bare all his purpose, and said: "This is your case, men of Persia: obey me and you shall have these good things and ten thousand others besides with no toil and slavery; but if you will not obey me you will have labours unnumbered, like to your toil of yesterday. Now, therefore, do as I bid you, and win your freedom. For I think that I myself was born by a marvellous providence to take this work in hand; and I deem you full as good men as the Medes in war and in all else. All this is true; wherefore now revolt from Astyages with all speed!"

127. The Persians had long been ill content that the Medes should rule them, and now having got them a champion they were glad to win their freedom. But when Astyages heard that Cyrus was at this business, he sent a messenger to summon him; Cyrus bade the messenger bring back word that Astyages would see him sooner than he desired. Hearing this, Astyages armed all his Medians, and was so infatuated that he forgot what he had done to Harpagus, and appointed him to command the army. So no sooner had the Medes marched out and joined battle with the Persians than some of them deserted to the enemy, but most of them of set purpose played the coward and fled; those only fought who had not shared Harpagus' counsels.

128. Thus the Median army was foully scattered. Astyages, hearing this, sent a threatening message to Cyrus, "that even so he should not go unpunished"; and with that he took the Magians who interpreted dreams and had persuaded him to let Cyrus go free, and impaled them; then he armed

τούς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ τῶν Μήδων, νέους τε καὶ πρεσβύτες ἀνδρας. ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τούτους καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖσι Πέρησι ἐσώθη, καὶ αὐτὸς τε Ἀστυάγης ἐζωγρήθη καὶ τοὺς ἐξήγαγε τῶν Μήδων ἀπέβαλε.

129. Ἔοντι δὲ αἰχμαλώτῳ τῷ Ἀστυάγει προσστὰς ὁ Ἀρπαγος κατέχαιρέ τε καὶ κατεκερτόμεε, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων ἐς αὐτὸν θυμαλγέα ἔπεα, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἶρετό μιν πρὸς τὸ ἐωυτοῦ δεῖπνον, τό μιν ἐκεῖνος σαρξὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθοίνησε, ὃ τι εἴη ἢ ἐκείνου δουλοσύνη ἀντὶ τῆς βασιληΐης. ὃ δὲ μιν προσιδὼν ἀντείρετο εἰ ἐωυτοῦ ποιέεται τὸ Κύρου ἔργον. Ἀρπαγος δὲ ἔφη, αὐτὸς γὰρ γράψαι, τὸ πρῆγμα ἐωυτοῦ δὴ δικαίως εἶναι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ μιν ἀπέφαινε τῷ λόγῳ σκαιότατόν τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον ἔοντα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, σκαιότατον μὲν γε, εἰ παρεὼν αὐτῷ βασιλέα γενέσθαι, εἰ δὴ δι' ἐωυτοῦ γε ἐπρήχθη τὰ παρεόντα, ἄλλῳ περιέθηκε τὸ κράτος; ἀδικώτατον δέ, ὅτι τοῦ δεῖπνου εἵνεκεν Μήδους κατεδούλωσε. εἰ γὰρ δὴ δεῖν πάντως περιθεῖναι ἄλλῳ τεῷ τὴν βασιληΐην καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν ἔχειν, δικαιότερον εἶναι Μήδων τεῷ περιβαλεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ Περσέων. νῦν δὲ Μήδους μὲν ἀναιτίους τούτου ἔοντας δούλους ἀντὶ δεσποτέων γεγονέναι, Πέρσας δὲ δούλους ἔοντας τὸ πρὶν Μήδων νῦν γεγονέναι δεσπότας.

130. Ἀστυάγης μὲν νυν βασιλεύσας ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα οὕτω τῆς βασιληΐης κατεπαύσθη, Μῆδοι δὲ ὑπέκυψαν Πέρησι διὰ τὴν τούτου πικρότητα, ἄρξαντες τῆς ἀνω Ἄλως ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἔτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δυνάων δέοντα, πάρεξ ἢ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἤρχον.



the Medes who were left in the city, the youths and old men. Leading these out, and encountering the Persians, he was worsted: Astyages himself was taken prisoner, and lost the Median army which he led.

129. He being then a captive, Harpagus came and exulted over him and taunted him, and with much other bitter mockery he brought to mind his banquet, when Astyages had fed Harpagus on his son's flesh, and asked Astyages what it was to be a slave after having been a king. Fixing his gaze on Harpagus, Astyages asked, "Think you that this, which Cyrus has done, is your work?" "It was I," said the other, "who wrote the letter; the accomplishment of the work is justly mine." "Then," said Astyages, "you stand confessed the most foolish and most unjust man on earth; most foolish, in giving another the throne which you might have had for yourself, if the present business be indeed your doing; most unjust, in enslaving the Medes by reason of that banquet. For if at all hazards another and not yourself must possess the royal power, then in justice some Mede should enjoy it, not a Persian: but now you have made the Medes, who did you no harm, slaves instead of masters and the Persians, who were the slaves, are now the masters of the Medes."

130. Thus Astyages was deposed from his sovereignty after a reign of thirty-five years: and the Medians were made to bow down before the Persians by reason of Astyages' cruelty. They had ruled all Asia beyond the Halys for one hundred and twenty-eight years,<sup>1</sup> from which must be taken the time when the Scythians held sway. At a later

<sup>1</sup> 687 to 559 B.C. The Scythians ruled 634-606 B.C.

ὑστέρω μέντοι χρόνῳ μετεμέλησέ τέ σφι ταῦτα ποιήσασι καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου, ἀποστάντες δὲ ὀπίσω κατεστράφησαν μάχῃ νικηθέντες. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀστυάγεος οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἤρχον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς Ἀσίης. Ἀστυάγεα δὲ Κῦρος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας εἶχε παρ' ἐωυτῷ, ἐς ὃ ἐτελεύτησε.

Οὕτω δὴ Κῦρος γενόμενός τε καὶ τραφεὶς ἐβασίλευσε καὶ Κροῖσον ὑστερον τούτων ἄρξαντα ἀδικίης κατεστρέψατο, ὥς εἴρηται μοι πρότερον, τοῦτον δὲ καταστρεψάμενος οὕτω πάσης τῆς Ἀσίης ἤρξε.

131. Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοισι τοιοῖσιδε χρεωμένους, ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἰδρύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιεῦσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς κατὰ περ οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι· οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρέων ἀναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῇ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι. τούτοις μὲν δὴ θύουσι μούνοισι ἀρχήθεν, ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίῃ θύειν, παρά τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων. καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἀλιλάτ, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν.

132. Θυσίῃ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους θεοὺς ἦδε κατέστηκε· οὔτε βωμοὺς ποιεῦνται οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι μέλλοντες θύειν, οὐ σπονδῇ χρέωνται, οὐκὶ αὐλῷ, οὐ στέμμασι, οὐκὶ οὐλῇσι· τῶν δὲ ὥς ἐκάστῳ θύειν θέλῃ, ἐς χῶρον

time they repented of what they now did, and rebelled against Darius<sup>1</sup>; but they were defeated in battle and brought back into subjection. But now, in Astyages' time, Cyrus and the Persians rose in revolt against the Medes, and from this time ruled Asia. As for Astyages, Cyrus did him no further harm, and kept him in his own house till Astyages died.

This is the story of the birth and upbringing of Cyrus, and thus he became king; and afterwards, as I have already related, he subdued Croesus in punishment for the unprovoked wrong done him; and after this victory he became sovereign of all Asia.

131. As to the usages of the Persians, I know them to be these. It is not their custom to make and set up statues and temples and altars, but those who make such they deem foolish, as I suppose, because they never believed the gods, as do the Greeks, to be in the likeness of men; but they call the whole circle of heaven Zeus, and to him they offer sacrifice on the highest peaks of the mountains; they sacrifice also to the sun and moon and earth and fire and water and winds. These are the only gods to whom they have ever sacrificed from the beginning; they have learnt later, to sacrifice to the "heavenly"<sup>2</sup> Aphrodite, from the Assyrians and Arabians. She is called by the Assyrians Mylitta, by the Arabians Alilat, by the Persians Mitra.

132. And this is their fashion of sacrifice to the aforesaid gods: when about to sacrifice they neither build altars nor kindle fire, they use no libations, nor music, nor fillets, nor barley meal; but to whomsoever of the gods a man will sacrifice, he leads the

<sup>1</sup> In 520 B.C.; the event is recorded in a cuneiform inscription. <sup>2</sup> See note on ch. 105.

καθαρόν ἀγαγὼν τὸ κτῆνος καλέει τὸν θεόν, ἐστὲφανωμένος τὸν τιάραν μυρσίνη μάλιστα. ἐαυτῷ μὲν δὴ τῷ θύοντι ἰδίῃ μύνῳ οὐ οἱ ἐγγίνεται ἀρᾶσθαι ἀγαθὰ, ὃ δὲ τοῖσι πᾶσι Πέρσῃσι κατεύχεται εὖ γίνεσθαι καὶ τῷ βασιλεί· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασι Πέρσῃσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. ἐπεὰν δὲ διαμιστύλας κατὰ μέλεα τὸ ἱρήιον ἐψήσῃ τὰ κρέα, ὑποπάσας ποιήν ὥς ἀπαλωτάτην, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τρίφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε ὧν πάντα τὰ κρέα διαθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστὼς ἐπαείδει θεογονίην, οἷν δὴ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαιοιδίην· ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ Μάγου οὐ σφί νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιέεσθαι. ἐπισχὼν δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀποφέρεται ὁ θύσας τὰ κρέα καὶ χράται ὃ τι μιν λόγος αἰρέει.

133. Ἡμέρην δὲ ἀπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμᾶν νομίζουσι τῇ ἑκάστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλέω δαῖτα τῶν ἀλλέων δικαιοῦσι προτίθεσθαι ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον προτιθέαται ὅλους ὀπτοὺς ἐν καμίνοισι, οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτιθέαται. σίτοισι δὲ ὀλίγοισι χρέωνται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ οὐκ ἀλέσι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶ Πέρσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας σιτεομένους πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφί ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφορέεται οὐδὲν λόγον ἄξιον· εἰ δέ τι παραφέροιτο, ἐσθίοντας ἂν οὐ παύεσθαι. οἶνω δὲ κάρτα προσκέαται, καὶ σφί οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἔξεστι, οὐκὶ οὐρήσαι ἀντίον ἄλλου. ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται, μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ ἐώθασι βουλευέσθαι τὰ σπουδαιέστατα τῶν πρηγμάτων· τὸ δ' ἂν ἄδη σφί βουλευομένοισι, τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίῃ νήφουσι



beast to an open space and then calls on the god, himself wearing a wreath on his cap, of myrtle for choice. To pray for blessings for himself alone is not lawful for the sacrificer; rather he prays that it may be well with the king and all the Persians; for he reckons himself among them. He then cuts the victim limb from limb into portions, and having boiled the flesh spreads the softest grass, trefoil by choice, and places all of it on this. When he has so disposed it a Magian comes near and chants over it the song of the birth of the gods, as the Persian tradition relates it; for no sacrifice can be offered without a Magian. Then after a little while the sacrificer carries away the flesh and uses it as he pleases.

133. The day which every man most honours is his own birthday. On this he thinks it right to serve a more abundant meal than on other days; before the rich are set oxen or horses or camels or asses, roasted whole in ovens; the poorer serve up the lesser kinds of cattle. Their courses are few, the dainties that follow are many and not all served together. This is why the Persians say of the Greeks, that they rise from table still hungry, because not much dessert is set before them: were this too given to the Greek (say the Persians) he would never cease eating. They are greatly given to wine; none may vomit or make water in another's presence. This then is prohibited among them. Moreover it is their custom to deliberate about the gravest matters when they are drunk; and what they approve in their counsels is proposed to them the next day by the master of the house where they deliberate, when they are now sober

προτιθεῖ ὁ στέγαρχος, ἐν τοῦ ἂν ἐόντες βουλευώνται, καὶ ἦν μὲν ἄδη καὶ νήφουσι, χρέωνται αὐτῷ, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἄδη, μετιεῖσι. τὰ δ' ἂν νήφοντες προβουλεύσονται, μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδιαγινώσκουσι.

134. Ἐντυγχάνοντες δ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι, τῷδε ἂν τις διαγνοίῃ εἰ ὅμοιοι εἰσὶ οἱ συντυγχάνοντες· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους φιλέουσι τοῖσι στόμασι· ἦν δὲ ἢ οὔτερος ὑποδεέστερος ὀλίγῳ, τὰς παρειὰς φιλέονται· ἦν δὲ πολλῷ ἢ οὔτερος ἀγεννέστερος, προσπίπτων προσκυνεῖ τὸν ἕτερον. τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοὺς ἄγχιστα ἑωυτῶν οἰκέοντας μετὰ γε ἑωυτούς, δευτέρα δὲ τοὺς δευτέρους· μετὰ δὲ κατὰ λόγον προβαίνοντες τιμῶσι· ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ἐκαστάτῳ οἰκημένους ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται, νομίζοντες ἑωυτούς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον<sup>1</sup> τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκαστάτῳ οἰκέοντας ἀπὸ ἑωυτῶν κακίστους εἶναι. ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἦρχε τὰ ἔθνηα ἀλλήλων, συναπάντων μὲν Μῆδοι καὶ τῶν ἄγχιστα οἰκεόντων σφίσι, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμούρων, οἳ δὲ μάλα τῶν ἐχομένων, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ λόγον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τιμῶσι· προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεύον.

135. Ξεινικὰ δὲ νόμαια Πέρσαι προσίενται ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσθῆτα νομίσαντες τῆς ἑωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίῳ φορέουσι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας καὶ εὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ λόγον [τῷ λεγομένῳ] Stein.

and if being sober they still approve it, they act thereon, but if not, they cast it aside. And when they have taken counsel about a matter when sober, they decide upon it when they are drunk.

134. When one man meets another in the way, it is easy to see if the two are equals; for then without speaking they kiss each other on the lips; if the difference in rank be but little, it is the cheek that is kissed; if it be great, the humbler bows down and does obeisance to the other. They honour most of all those who dwell nearest them, next those who are next farthest removed, and so going ever onwards they assign honour by this rule; those who dwell farthest off they hold least honourable of all; for they deem themselves to be in all regards by far the best of all men, the rest to have but a proportionate claim to merit, till those who dwell farthest away have least merit of all. Under the rule of the Medes one tribe would even govern another; the Medes held sway over all alike and specially over those who dwelt nearest to themselves; these ruled their neighbours, and the neighbours again those who came next to them, on the same plan whereby the Persians assign honour; for according as the Median nation advanced its dominion farther from home, such was the measure of its rule and suzerainty.<sup>1</sup>

135. But of all men the Persians most welcome foreign customs. They wear the Median dress, deeming it more beautiful than their own, and the Egyptian cuirass in war. Their luxurious practices

<sup>1</sup> This appears to mean, that the farther off a subject nation is, the less direct is the control exercised by the Medes; on the same principle as that which makes the Persians hold their subjects in less and less estimation in proportion to their distance from the seat of empire.

τηδεύουσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παισὶ μίσγονται. γαμέουσι δὲ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας γυναῖκας, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας παλλακὰς κτῶνται.

136. Ἀνδραγαθίῃ δὲ αὕτη ἀποδέδεκται, μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ὅς ἂν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξῃ παῖδας· τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι δῶρα ἐκπέμπει βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγέεται ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι. παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος τρία μῶνα, ἵππεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ἢ πενταέτης γένηται, οὐκ ἀπικνέεται ἐς ὄψιν τῷ πατρί, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῇσι γυναιξὶ δίαιταν ἔχει. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα τοῦτο οὕτω ποιέεται, ἵνα ἦν ἀποθάνῃ τρεφόμενος, μηδεμίαν ἄσπην τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλῃ.

137. Αἰνέω μὲν νυν τόνδε τὸν νόμον, αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τόνδε, τὸ μὴ μῆς αἰτίης εἵνεκα μήτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεύειν, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων μηδένα τῶν ἑωυτοῦ οἰκετέων ἐπὶ μὴ αἰτίῃ ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρδειν· ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος ἦν εὐρίσκη πλέω τε καὶ μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἑόντα τῶν ὑπουργημάτων, οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται. ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ οὐδένα κω λέγουσι τὸν ἑωυτοῦ πατέρα οὐδὲ μητέρα, ἀλλὰ ὅκόσα ἤδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο, πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φασὶ ἀναζητούμενα ταῦτα ἀνευρεθῆναι ἢτοι ὑποβολιμαῖα ἑόντα ἢ μοιχίδια· οὐ γὰρ δὴ φασὶ οἶκός εἶναι τὸν γε ἀληθέως τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκειν.

138. Ἄσσα δὲ σφὶ ποιέειν οὐκ ἔξεστι, ταῦτα οὐδὲ λέγειν ἔξεστι. αἰσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νερόμισται, δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὀφείλειν χρέος,



are of all kinds, and all borrowed; the Greeks taught them unnatural vices. Every Persian marries many lawful wives, and keeps still more concubines.

136. After valour in battle it is most reckoned as manly merit to show the greatest number of sons: the king sends gifts yearly to him who can show most. Numbers, they hold, are strength. They educate their boys from five to twenty years old, and teach them three things only, riding and archery and truth-telling. A boy is not seen by his father before he is five years old, but lives with the women: the reason of this is that, if the boy should die in the time of his rearing, the father may suffer no dolour.

137. This is a law which I praise; and it is a praiseworthy law too which suffers not the king himself to slay any man for one offence, nor any other Persian for one offence to do incurable hurt to one of his servants. Not till reckoning shows that the offender's wrongful acts are more and greater than his services may a man give vent to his anger. They say that none has ever yet killed his father or mother; when suchlike deeds have been done, it cannot be but that on inquest made the doer is shown to be a child falsely substituted or born of a concubine; for it is not to be believed (say they) that a son should kill his true parent.

138. Moreover of what they may not do neither may they speak. They hold lying to be foulest of all and next to that debt; for which they have

πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἵνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι τὸν ὀφείλοντα καὶ τι ψεῦδος λέγειν. ὃς ἂν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην ἢ λεύκην ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν οὗτος οὐ κατέρχεται οὐδὲ συμμίσγεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Πέρσησι· φασὶ δέ μιν ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἀμαρτόντα τι ταῦτα ἔχειν. ξεῖνον δὲ πάντα τὸν λαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τουτέων πολλοὶ ἐξελαύνουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ τὰς λευκὰς περιστεράς, τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίην ἐπιφέροντες. ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνουρέουσι οὔτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας ἐναπονίζονται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα περιορῶσι, ἀλλὰ σέβονται ποταμοὺς μάλιστα.

139. Καὶ τότε ἄλλο σφί ὧδε συμπέπτωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε, ἡμέας μέντοι οὐ· τὰ οὐνόματά σφί ἐόντα ὅμοια τοῖσι σώμασι καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείῃ τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ γράμμα, τὸ Δωριέες μὲν σὰν καλέουσι, Ἴωνες δὲ σίγμα· ἐς τοῦτο διζήμενος εὐρήσεις τελευτῶντα τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν τὰ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως.

140. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν εἰδὼς εἰπεῖν τάδε μέντοι ὥς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται καὶ οὐ σαφηνέως περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ὥς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω ὁ νέκυς πρὶν ἂν ὑπ' ὄρνιθος ἢ κυνὸς ἐλκυσθῇ. Μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οἶδα ταῦτα ποιέοντας· ἐμφανέως γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦσι. κατακηρώσαντες δὲ ὦν τὸν νέκυν Πέρσαι γῇ κρύπτουσι. Μάγοι δὲ κεχωρίδαται πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱρέων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνεύουσι ἔμψυχον μηδὲν κτείνειν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα θύουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ Μάγοι αὐτοχειρῇ πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου κτείνουσι, καὶ

many other reasons, but this in especial, that the debtor must needs (so they say) speak some falsehood. The citizen who has leprosy or the white sickness may not come into a town or consort with other Persians. They say that he is so afflicted because he has sinned in some wise against the sun. Many drive every stranger, who takes such a disease, out of the country; and so they do to white doves, for the reason aforesaid. Rivers they chiefly reverence; they will neither make water nor spit nor wash their hands therein, nor suffer anyone so to do.

139. There is another thing which always happens among them; we have noted it though the Persians have not: their names, which agree with the nature of their persons and their nobility, all end in the same letter, that which the Dorians call *san*, and the Ionians *sigma*; you shall find, if you search, that not some but all Persian names alike end in this letter.

140. So much I can say of them of my own certain knowledge. But there are other matters concerning the dead which are secretly and obscurely told—how the dead bodies of Persians are not buried before they have been mangled by bird or dog. That this is the way of the Magians I know for a certainty; for they do not conceal the practice. But this is certain, that before the Persians bury the body in earth they embalm it in wax. These Magians are much unlike to the priests of Egypt, as to all other men: for the priests count it sacrilege to kill aught that lives, save what they sacrifice; but the Magians kill with their own hands every creature, save only dogs

ἀγώνισμα μέγα τοῦτο ποιεῦνται, κτείνοντες ὁμοίως μύρμηκας τε καὶ ὄφεις καὶ τᾶλλα ἔρπετὰ καὶ πετεινά. καὶ ἀμφὶ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ ἐχέτω ὥς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐνομίσθη, ἀνείμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.

141. Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολέες, ὥς οἱ Λυδοὶ τάχιστα κατεστράφατο ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κῦρον, ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τοῖσι καὶ Κροίσῳ ἦσαν κατήκοοι. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προΐσχοντο ἔλεξέ σφι λόγον, ἄνδρα φὰς αὐλητὴν ἰδόντα ἰχθῦς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ αὐλέειν, δοκέοντα σφέας ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἐς γῆν· ὥς δὲ ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος, λαβεῖν ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ περιβαλεῖν τε πλήθος πολλὸν τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ ἐξειρῦσαι, ἰδόντα δὲ παλλομένους εἰπεῖν ἄρα αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθῦς "Παύεσθέ μοι ὀρχεόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμέο αὐλέοντος ἠθέλετε ἐκβαίνειν ὀρχεόμενοι." Κῦρος μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον τοῖσι Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰολεῦσι τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἔλεξε, ὅτι δὴ οἱ Ἴωνες πρότερον αὐτοῦ Κύρου δεηθέντος δι' ἀγγέλων ἀπίστασθαι σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, τότε δὲ κατεργασμένων τῶν πρηγμάτων ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι πείθεσθαι Κύρῳ. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὀργῇ ἐχόμενος ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· Ἴωνες δὲ ὥς ἤκουσαν τούτων ἀνενοιχθέντων ἐς τὰς πόλεις, τείχεά τε περιεβάλλοντο ἕκαστοι καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐς Πανιώνιον οἱ ἄλλοι, πλὴν Μιλησίων· πρὸς μούρους γὰρ τούτους ὅρκιον Κῦρος ἐποίησατο ἐπ' οἰσί περ ὁ Λυδός. τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Ἴωσι ἔδοξε κοινῇ λόγῳ πέμπειν ἀγγέλους ἐς Σπάρτην δεησόμενους Ἴωσι τιμωρεῖν.



and men; they kill all alike, ants and snakes, creeping and flying things, and take much pride therein. Leaving this custom to be such as it has been from the first,<sup>1</sup> I return now to my former story.

141. As soon as the Lydians had been subdued by the Persians, the Ionians and Aeolians sent messengers to Cyrus, offering to be his subjects on the same terms as those which they had under Croesus. Having heard what they proposed, Cyrus told them a story. Once, he said, there was a flute-player who saw fishes in the sea and played upon his flute, thinking that so they would come out on to the land. Being disappointed of his hope, he took a net and gathered in and drew out a great multitude of the fishes; and seeing them leaping, "You had best," said he, "cease from your dancing now; you would not come out and dance then, when I played to you." The reason why Cyrus told the story to the Ionians and Aeolians was that the Ionians, who were ready to obey him when the victory was won, had before refused when he sent a message asking them to revolt from Croesus. So he answered them in his anger. But when the message came to the Ionians in their cities, they fortified themselves severally with walls, and assembled in the Panionion,<sup>2</sup> all except the Milesians, with whom alone Cyrus had made a treaty on the same terms as that which they had with the Lydians. The rest of the Ionians resolved to send envoys in the name of them all to Sparta, to ask help for the Ionians.

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "let matters stand concerning this custom as it was first instituted": i.e., apparently, "let us be content with knowing that this custom is as it has been from its origin."

<sup>2</sup> See ch. 148.

142. Οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἐστί, τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὠρέων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτύγχανον ἰδρυσάμενοι πόλιος πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς χωρία τὸντο ποιεῖ τῇ Ἰωνίῃ οὔτε τὰ κάτω οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην,<sup>1</sup> τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ὑγροῦ πιεζόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ αὐχμώδεος. γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων. Μίλητος μὲν αὐτέων πρώτη κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, μετὰ δὲ Μυοῦς τε καὶ Πριήνη. αὗται μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοίκηνται κατὰ ταῦτα διαλεγόμεναι σφίσι, αἶδε δὲ ἐν τῇ Λυδίῃ. Ἐφέσος Κολοφῶν Λέβεδος Τέως Κλαζομεναὶ Φώκαια· αὗται δὲ αἱ πόλεις τῇσι πρότερον λεχθείησι ὁμολογέουσιν κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδέν, σφίσι δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσιν. ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι Ἰάδες πόλεις, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέονται, Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον, ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἴδρυται, Ἐρυθραί. Χίοι μὲν νυν καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι κατὰ τὸντο διαλέγονται, Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν μῦνοι. οὗτοι χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης τέσσερες γίνονται.

143. Τούτων δὲ ὧν τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ Μιλήσιοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπη τοῦ φόβου, ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν νησιώτησι ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὔτε γὰρ Φοίνικες ἦσαν κω Περσέων κατήκοοι οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ναυβάται. ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων οὗτοι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἰσθηνίος δὲ ἐόντος τοῦ παντός τότε Ἑλληνικοῦ

<sup>1</sup> οὔτε τὰ πρὸς . . . ἐσπέρην bracketed by Stein.

142. Now these Ionians, who possessed the Panionion, had set their cities in places more favoured by skies and seasons than any country known to us. For neither to the north of them nor to the south nor to the east nor to the west does the land accomplish the same effect as Ionia, being afflicted here by the cold and wet, there by the heat and drought. They use not all the same speech but four different dialects. Miletus lies farthest south among them, and next to it come Myus and Priene; these are settlements in Caria, and they use a common language; Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenae, Phocaea, all of them being in Lydia, have a language in common which is wholly different from the speech of the three cities aforementioned. There are yet three Ionian cities, two of them situate on the islands of Samos and Chios, and one, Erythrae, on the mainland; the Chians and Erythraeans speak alike, but the Samians have a language which is their own and none other's. It is thus seen that there are four fashions of speech.

143. Among these Ionians, the Milesians were sheltered from the danger (for they had made a treaty), and the islanders among them had nothing to fear; for the Phoenicians were not yet subjects of the Persians, nor were the Persians themselves shipmen. But they of Asia were cut off from the rest of the Ionians in no other way save as I shall show. The whole Hellenic race was then but small,

γένεος, πολλῷ δὴ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ Ἴωνικὸν καὶ λόγου ἐλαχίστου· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Ἀθῆναι, ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ οὖνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κεκληῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονται μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι· αἱ δὲ δυνώδεκα πόλεις αὐταὶ τῷ τε οὐνόματι ἡγάλλοντο καὶ ἱρὸν ἰδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτέων, τῷ οὖνομα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον, ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἰώνων (οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν ὅτι μὴ Σμυρναῖοι). 144. κατὰ περ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρης Δωριέες, πρότερον δὲ ἑξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσουνται ὧν μηδαμὸς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοίκων Δωριέων ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήμισαν τῆς μετοχῆς. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι, καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνὴρ ὢν Ἀλικαρνησσεύς, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀγασικλῆς, νικήσας τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε, φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία προσεπασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε πόλεις, Λίνδος καὶ Ἰήλυσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος ἐξεκλήμισαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἕκτην πόλιν Ἀλικαρνησσόν. τούτοις μὲν νυν οὗτοι ταύτην τὴν ζημίην ἐπέθηκαν.

145. Δυνώδεκα δὲ μοι δοκέουσι πόλιας ποιήσασθαι οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ οὐκ ἐθελήσαι πλεῦνας ἐσδέξασθαι τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ



and the least of all its parts, and the least regarded, was the Ionian stock; for saving Athens it had no considerable city. Now the Athenians and the rest would not be called Ionians, but spurned the name; nay, even now the greater number of them seem to me to be ashamed of it; but the twelve cities aforesaid gloried in this name, and founded a holy place for themselves which they called the Panionion, and agreed among them to allow no other Ionians to use it (nor indeed did any save the men of Smyrna ask to be admitted); 144. even as the Dorians of what is now the country of the "Five Cities"—the same being formerly called the country of the "Six Cities"—forbid the admitting of any of the neighbouring Dorians to the Triopian temple, nay, they barred from sharing the use of it even those of their own body who had broken the temple law. For long ago in the games in honour of Triopian Apollo they offered certain bronze tripods to the victors; and those who won these must not carry them away from the temple but dedicate them there to the god. Now a man of Halicarnassus called Agasicles, being a winner, disregarded this law, and carrying the tripod away nailed it to the wall of his own house. For this offence the five cities, Lindus, Ialysus, Camirus, Cos, and Cnidus, forbade the sixth city, Halicarnassus, to share in the use of the temple. Such was the penalty imposed on the Halicarnassians.

145. As for the Ionians, the reason why they made twelve cities and would admit no more was in my judgment this, that there were twelve divisions of

οἶκεον, δυνώδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρεα, κατὰ περ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἴωνας δυνώδεκα ἐστὶ μέρεα, Πελλήνη μὲν γε πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος, μετὰ δὲ Αἰγείρα καὶ Αἰγαί, ἐν τῇ Κραῖθις ποταμὸς αἰίναος ἐστί, ἀπ' ὅτεν ὁ ἐν Ἰταλίῃ ποταμὸς τὸ οὔνομα ἔσχε, καὶ Βοῦρα καὶ Ἑλίκη, ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἴωνες ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες, καὶ Αἴγιον καὶ Ῥύπες καὶ Πατρές καὶ Φαρές καὶ Ὠλενος, ἐν τῷ Πείρῳ ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστί, καὶ Δύμη καὶ Τριταιέες, οἳ μῦνοι τούτων μεσόγαιοι οἰκέουσι. ταῦτα δυνώδεκα μέρεα νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τότε γε Ἰώνων ἦν.

146. Τούτων δὲ εἵνεκα καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες δυνώδεκα πόλιας ἐποίησαντο· ἐπεὶ ὥς γέ τι μᾶλλον οὔτοι Ἴωνες εἰσὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων ἢ κάλλιόν τι γεγονασί, μωρίῃ πολλὴ λέγειν· τῶν Ἀβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἰωνίης μετὰ οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν, Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοι σφί ἀναμεμίχεται καὶ Καδμεῖοι καὶ Δρύσπες καὶ Φωκίες ἀποδάσμιοι καὶ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ καὶ Δωριέες Ἐπιδαύριοι, ἅλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμίχεται· οἳ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανηίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὀρμηθέντες καὶ νομίζοντες γενναιότατοι εἶναι Ἰώνων, οὔτοι δὲ οὐ γυναικας ἡγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἀλλὰ Κασίρας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας. διὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναῖκες αὗται νόμον θέμεναι σφίσιν αὐτῇσι ὅρκους ἐπήλασαν καὶ παρέδοσαν τῇσι θυγατράσι, μή κοτε ὁμοσιτῆσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι μηδὲ οὐνόματι βῶσαι τὸν ἐωυτῆς ἄνδρα, τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὅτι ἐφόνευσαν σφέων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ

them when they dwelt in Peloponnesus, just as there are twelve divisions of the Achaeans who drove the Ionians out, Pellene nearest to Sicyon, then Aegira and Aegae, where is the never-failing river Crathis, from which the river in Italy took its name; Bura and Helice, whither the Ionians fled when they were worsted in battle by the Achaeans; Aegion, Rhype, Patrae, Phareae, and Olenus, where is the great river Pirus; Dyme and Tritaeae, the only inland city of all these; these were the twelve divisions of the Ionians, as they are now of the Achaeans.

146. For this reason the Ionians too made twelve cities, and for no other; for it were but foolishness to say that these are more truly Ionian or better born than the other Ionians; seeing that not the least part of them are Abantes from Euboea, who are not Ionians even in name, and that there are mingled with them Minyans of Orchomenus, Cadmeans, Dryopians, Phocian seceders from their nation, Molossians, Pelasgian Arcadians, Dorians of Epidaurus, and many other tribes; and as for those who came from the very town hall of Athens and deem themselves the best born of the Ionians, these did not bring wives with them to their settlements, but married Carian women whose parents they had put to death. For this slaughter, these women made a custom and bound themselves by oath (and enjoined the same on their daughters) that none would sit at meat with her husband nor call him by his name, because the men had married

ἄνδρας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἔπειτα ταῦτα ποιήσαντες αὐτῇσι συνοίκεον.

147. Ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ. βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καύκωνας Πυλίους ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλον τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων, ἔστωσαν δὴ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἴωνες. εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὀρτὴν· ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλην Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων· οὗτοι γὰρ μούνοι Ἰώνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια, καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνου τινὰ σκῆψιν.

148. Τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χώρος ἱρὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινῇ ἐξαιρεημένος ὑπὸ Ἰώνων Ποσειδέωνι Ἐλικωνίῳ. ἡ δὲ Μυκάλη ἐστὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ἄκρη πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον κατήκουσα Σάμῳ καταντίον, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολιῶν Ἴωνες ἄγεσκον ὀρτὴν τῇ ἔθεντο οὐνομα Πανιώνια. [πεπόνθασι δὲ οὔτι μούναι αἱ Ἰώνων ὀρταὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων πάντων ὁμοίως πᾶσαι ἐς τὸντὸ γράμμα τελευτῶσι, κατὰ περ τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα.]<sup>1</sup>

149. Αὗται μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλεις εἰσὶ, αἶδε δὲ αἱ Αἰολίδες, Κύμη ἡ Φρικωνὶς καλεομένη, Λήρिसαι, Νέον τεῖχος, Τῆμνος, Κίλλα, Νότιον,

<sup>1</sup> The bracketed words are clearly out of place. Probably they are a marginal note with reference to some commentator's assertion that the α-ending of names of festivals was specially Ionic.



them after slaying their fathers and husbands and sons.

147. This happened at Miletus. And for kings some of them chose Lycian descendants of Glaucus son of Hippolochus, and some Caucones of Pylus, descendants of Codrus son of Melanthus, and some both. Yet seeing that they set more store by the name than the rest of the Ionians, let it be granted that those of pure birth are Ionians; and all are Ionians who are of Athenian descent and keep the feast Apaturia.<sup>1</sup> All do so keep it, saving the men of Ephesus and Colophon; these are the only Ionians who do not keep it, and these by reason, they say, of a certain deed of blood.

148. The Panionion is a sacred ground in Mycale, facing the north; it was set apart for Poseidon of Helicon by the joint will of the Ionians. Mycale is a western promontory of the mainland opposite to Samos; the Ionians were wont to assemble there from their cities and keep the festival to which they gave the name of Panionia. [The names of all the Greek festivals, not the Ionian alone, end alike in the same letter, just as do the names of the Persians.]

149. I have now told of the Ionian cities. The Aeolian cities are these:—Cyme (called "Phriconian"),<sup>2</sup> Lerisae, "the New Fort," Temnos, Cilla,

<sup>1</sup> A festival celebrated at Athens and most Ionian cities by the members of each "phratría" or clan, lasting three days; on the last day grown-up youths were formally admitted as members of the phratría. The festival was held in the month Pyanepsion (late October and early November).

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps so called from a mountain in Aeolis, Phricion, near which the Aeolians had been settled before their migration to Asia.

Αἰγίρόεσσα, Πιτάνη, Αἰγαῖαι, Μύρινα, Γρίνεια. αὗται ἔνδεκα Αἰολέων πόλεις αἱ ἀρχαῖαι· μία γὰρ σφέων παρελύθη Σμύρνη ὑπὸ Ἰώνων· ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ αὗται δυνώδεκα αἱ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Αἰολέες χώραν μὲν ἔτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμείνω Ἰώνων, ὥρέων δὲ ἤκουσαν οὐκ ὁμοίως.

150. Σμύρνην δὲ ὧδε ἀπέβαλον Αἰολέες. Κολοφωνίους ἄνδρας στάσι ἐσσωθέντας καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεδέξαντο. μετὰ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὀρτὴν ἔξω τείχεος ποιευμένους Διονύσῳ, τὰς πύλας ἀποκληίσαντες ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν. βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων Αἰολέων, ὁμολογίῃ ἐχρήσαντο τὰ ἐπιπλα ἀποδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων ἐκλιπεῖν Σμύρνην Αἰολέας. ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναίων ἐπιδιείλοντο σφέας αἱ ἔνδεκα πόλεις καὶ ἐποίησαντο σφέων αὐτέων πολιήτας.

151. Αὗται μὲν νυν αἱ ἡπειρώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλεις, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ οἰκημενέων κεχωρίδεται γὰρ αὗται. αἱ δὲ τὰς νήσους ἔχουσαι πέντε μὲν πόλεις τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται (τὴν γὰρ ἔκτῃ ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ οἰκημένην Ἀρίσβαν ἡνδραπόδισαν Μηθυμναῖοι ἐόντας ὁμαίμους), ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία οἴκηται πόλις, καὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἑκατὸν νήσοισι καλεομένησι ἄλλη μία. Λεσβίοισι μὲν νυν καὶ Τενεδίοισι, κατὰ περ Ἰώνων τοῖσι τὰς νήσους ἔχουσι, ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν· τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι πόλισι ἕαδε κοινῇ Ἰωσι ἔπεσθαι τῇ ἂν οὗτοι ἐξηγέωνται.

Notium, Aegiroessa, Pitana, Aegaeae, Myrina, Grynea.<sup>1</sup> These are the ancient Aeolian cities, eleven in number; these, too, the mainland cities, were once twelve; but one of them, Smyrna, was taken away by the Ionians. These Aeolians had settled where the land was better than the Ionian territory, but the climate was not so good.

150. Now this is how the Aeolians lost Smyrna. Certain men of Colophon, worsted in civil strife and banished from their country, had been received by them into the town. These Colophonian exiles waited for the time when the men of Smyrna were holding a festival to Dionysus outside the walls; they then shut the gates and so won the city. Then all the Aeolians came to recover it; and an agreement was made, whereby the Aeolians should receive back their movable goods from the Ionians, and quit the city. This being done, the other eleven cities divided the Smyrnaeans among themselves and made them citizens of their own.

151. These then are the Aeolian cities of the mainland, besides those that are situate on Ida, and are separate. Among those on the islands, five divide Lesbos among them (there was a sixth on Lesbos, Arisba, but its people were enslaved by their kinsfolk of Methymna); there is one on Tenedos, and one again in the "Hundred isles"<sup>2</sup> as they are called. The men of Lesbos and Tenedos, then, like the Ionian islanders, had nothing to fear. The rest of the cities took counsel together and resolved to follow whither the Ionians should lead.

<sup>1</sup> These places lie between Smyrna and Pergamum, on or near the coast. But Aegiroessa has not been exactly identified.

<sup>2</sup> A group of small islands between Lesbos and the mainland.

152. Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων οἱ ἄγγελοι (κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα πρησσόμενα), εἶλοντο πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν Φωκαέα, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Πύθερμος. ὁ δὲ πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα περιβαλόμενος, ὥς ἂν πυνθανόμενοι πλείστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ καταστάς ἔλεγε πολλὰ τιμωρέειν ἑωυτοῖσι χρηρίζων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐ κως ἔσήκουν, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξέ σφι μὴ τιμωρέειν Ἴωσι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀπώσάμενοι τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὁμῶς ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντέρῳ ἄνδρας, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέει, κατασκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ Ἰωνίης. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔπεμπον ἐς Σάρδις σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Λακρίνης, ἀπερέοντα Κύρῳ Λακεδαιμονίων ῥῆσιν, γῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναιμωρέειν, ὥς αὐτῶν οὐ περιψομένων.

153. Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, λέγεται Κῦρον ἐπειρέσθαι τοὺς παρεόντας οἱ Ἑλλήνων τίνες ἔόντες ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κόσσι πλῆθος ταῦτα ἑωυτῷ προαγορεύουσι πυνθανόμενον δέ μιν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα τὸν Σπαρτιητήν "Οὐκ ἔδειςά κω ἄνδρας τοιούτους, τοῖσι ἐστὶ χώρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει ἀποδεδεγμένος ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὁμνύντες ἐξαπατῶσι τοῖσι, ἦν ἐγὼ ὑγιαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθρα ἔσται ἔλλεσχα ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκήσια." ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας Ἑλληνας ἀπέρριψε ὁ Κῦρος τὰ ἔπεα, ὅτι ἀγορὰς στησάμενοι ὦνῃ τε καὶ πρήσι χρέωνται· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀγορήσι οὐδὲν ἑώθασιν χρᾶσθαι, οὐδέ σφι ἐστὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀγορή. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψας



152. So when the envoys of the Ionians and Aeolians came to Sparta (for this was set afoot with all speed) they chose the Phocæan, whose name was Pythermos, to speak for all. He then put on a purple cloak, that as many Spartans as possible might assemble to hear him, and stood up and made a long speech asking aid for his people. But the Lacedæmonians would not listen to him and refused to aid the Ionians. So the Ionians departed; but the Lacedæmonians, though they had rejected their envoys, did nevertheless send men in a ship of fifty oars to see (as I suppose) how it fared with Cyrus and Ionia. These, coming to Phocæa, sent Lacrines, who was the most esteemed among them, to Sardis, to repeat there to Cyrus a proclamation of the Lacedæmonians, that he must harm no city on Greek territory; else the Lacedæmonians would punish him.

153. When the herald had so spoken, Cyrus (it is said) asked the Greeks that were present who and how many in number were these Lacedæmonians who made him this declaration. When he was told, he said to the Spartan herald, "I never yet feared men who have a place set apart in the midst of their city where they perjure themselves and deceive each other. These, if I keep my health, shall have their own mishaps to talk of, not those of the Ionians." This threat he uttered against the whole Greek nation, because they have market-places and buy and sell there; for the Persians themselves use no market-places, nor have they such at all. Presently,

τὰς μὲν Σάρδις Ταβάλῳ ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τὸν τε Κροῖσου καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν Πακτῦν ἀνδρὶ Λυδῷ κομίζειν, ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς ἐς Ἀγβάτανα, Κροῖσόν τε ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. ἥ τε γὰρ Βαβυλῶν οἱ ἦν ἐμπόδιος καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐπ' οὓς ἐπεῖχέ τε στρατηλατέειν αὐτός, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνας ἄλλον πέμπειν στρατηγόν.

154. Ὡς δὲ ἀπήλασε ὁ Κῦρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίῳ, τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτύης ἀπὸ τε Ταβάλου καὶ Κύρου, καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἅτε τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίῳ, ἐπικούρους τε ἐμισθοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθαλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἔπειθε σὺν ἐωυτῷ στρατεύεσθαι. ἐλάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις ἐπολιόρκεε Τάβαλον ἀπεργόμενον ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει.

155. Πυθόμενος δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε. "Κροῖσε, τί ἔσται τέλος τῶν γινομένων τούτων ἐμοί; οὐ παύσονται Λυδοί, ὥς οἴκασι, πρήγματα παρέχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες. φροντίζω μὴ ἄριστον ἢ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι σφέας. ὁμοίως γὰρ μοι νῦν γε φαίνομαι πεποιηκέναι ὥς εἴ τις πατέρα ἀποκτείνας τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ φείσατο ὥς δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ Λυδῶν τὸν μὲν πλεόν τι ἢ πατέρα ἔοντα σὲ λαβὼν ἄγω, αὐτοῖσι δὲ Λυδοῖσι τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκα, καὶ ἔπειτα θωμάζω εἴ μοι ἀπεστᾶσι." ὁ μὲν δὴ τά περ ἐνόεε ἔλεγε, ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε, δείσας μὴ ἀναστάτους ποιήσῃ τὰς Σάρδις. "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν οἰκότα εἴρηκας, σὺ μέντοι μὴ πάντα θυμῷ χρέο, μηδὲ πόλιν ἀρχαίην ἐξαναστήσῃς ἀναμάρ-

entrusting Sardis to a Persian called Tabalus, and charging Pactyes, a Lydian, to take charge of the gold of Croesus and the Lydians, he himself marched away to Agbatana, taking with him Croesus, and at first making no account of the Ionians. For he had Babylon on his hands and the Bactrian nation and the Sacae and Egyptians; he was minded to lead an army himself against these and to send another commander against the Ionians.

154. But no sooner had Cyrus marched away from Sardis than Pactyes made the Lydians to revolt from Tabalus and Cyrus; and he went down to the sea, where, as he had all the gold of Sardis, he hired soldiers and persuaded the men of the coast to join his army. Then marching to Sardis he penned Tabalus in the citadel and besieged him there.

155. When Cyrus had news of this on his journey, he said to Croesus, "What end am I to make, Croesus, of this business? it seems that the Lydians will never cease making trouble for me and for themselves. It is in my mind that it may be best to make slaves of them; for now methinks I have done like one that should slay the father and spare the children. So likewise I have taken with me you who were more than a father to the Lydians, and handed the city over to the Lydians themselves; and then forsooth I marvel that they revolt!" So Cyrus uttered his thought; but Croesus feared that he would destroy Sardis, and thus answered him: "O King, what you say is but reasonable. Yet do not ever yield to anger, nor destroy an ancient city that is guiltless both of

τητον εἰσὺσαν καὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ τῶν νῦν ἐστεώτων. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγὼ τε ἔπρηξα καὶ ἐγὼ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξας φέρω· τὰ δὲ νῦν παρέοντα Πακτύης γὰρ ἐστὶ ὁ ἀδικέων, τῷ σὺν ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδεις, οὗτος δότω τοι δίκην. Λυδοῖσι δὲ συγγνώμην ἔχων τάδε αὐτοῖσι ἐπίταξον, ὥς μήτε ἀποστέωσι μήτε δεινοὶ τοι ἔωσι· ἄπειπε μὲν σφί πέμψας ὅπλα ἀρήια μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι, κέλευε δὲ σφέας κιθῶνάς τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἵμασι καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι, πρόειπε δ' αὐτοῖσι κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ καπηλεύειν παιδεύειν τοὺς παῖδας. καὶ ταχέως σφέας ὦ βασιλεῦ γυναῖκας ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ὄψεαι γεγονότας, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεινοὶ τοι ἔσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι."

156. Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτά οἱ ὑπετίθετο, αἰρετώτερα ταῦτα εὐρίσκων Λυδοῖσι ἢ ἀνδραποδισθέντας πρηθῆναι σφέας, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι ἦν μὴ ἀξιόχρεον πρόφασιν προτείνειν, οὐκ ἀναπαίσει μιν μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ἀρρωδέων δὲ μὴ καὶ ὕστερον κοτὲ οἱ Λυδοί, ἦν τὸ παρεὸν ὑπεκδράμωσι, ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἀπόλωνται. Κύρος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ ὑπεὶς τῆς ὀργῆς ἔφη οἱ πείθεσθαι· καλέσας δὲ Μαζάρεα ἄνδρα Μῆδον, ταῦτά τέ οἱ ἐντείλατο προειπεῖν Λυδοῖσι τὰ ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπετίθετο, καὶ πρὸς ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας οἱ μετὰ Λυδῶν ἐπὶ Σάρδεις ἐστρατεύσαντο, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτύην πάντως ζῶντα ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἐωυτόν.

157. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐντειλάμενος ἀπῆλανε ἐς ἡθεα τὰ Περσέων, Πακτύης δὲ πυθόμενος ἀγχοῦ εἶναι στρατὸν ἐπ' ἐωυτόν ἰόντα δείσας οἶχετο φεύγων ἐς Κύμην. Μαζάρης δὲ ὁ



the former and of the latter offence. For the beginning was my work, and on my head is the penalty; but it is Pactyes, in whose charge you left Sardis, who does this present wrong; let him therefore be punished. But let the Lydians be pardoned; and lay on them this command, that they may not revolt or be dangerous to you; send, I say, and forbid them to possess weapons of war, and command them to wear tunics under their cloaks and buskins on their feet, and to teach their sons lyre-playing and song and dance and huckstering. Then, O king, you will soon see them turned to women instead of men; and thus you need not fear lest they revolt."

156. Such counsel Croesus gave Cyrus, because he thought this was better for the Lydians than to be sold as slaves; he knew that without some reasonable plea he could not change the king's purpose, and feared that even if the Lydians should now escape they might afterwards revolt and be destroyed by the Persians. Cyrus was pleased by this counsel; he abated his anger and said he would follow Croesus' advice. Then calling Mazares, a Mede, he charged him to give the Lydians the commands which Croesus advised; further, to enslave all the others who had joined the Lydians in attacking Sardis; and as for Pactyes himself, to bring him by whatever means into his presence alive.

157. Having given these commands on his journey, he marched away into the Persian country. But Pactyes, learning that an army sent against him was drawing near, was affrighted and fled to Cyme.

Μήδος ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὅσῃν δὴ κοτε ἔχων, ὥς οὐκ εὔρε ἔτι εἶοντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτύην ἐν Σάρδισι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἠνάγκασε τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπιτελέειν, ἐκ τούτου δὲ κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δίαιταν τῆς ζῆς μετέβαλον. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμπε ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους ἐκδιδόναι κελεύων Πακτύην. οἱ δὲ Κυμαῖοι ἔγνωσαν συμβουλῆς πέρι ἐς θεὸν ἀνοῖσαι τὸν ἐν Βραγχίδησι· ἦν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντήμιον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰδρυμένον, τῷ Ἰωνέσ τε πάντες καὶ Αἰολέες ἐώθεσαν χρᾶσθαι. ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτος ἐστὶ τῆς Μιλησίους ὑπὲρ Πανόρμου λιμένος.

158. Πέμψαντες ὧν οἱ Κυμαῖοι ἐς τοὺς Βραγχίδας θεοπρόπους εἰρώτευν περὶ Πακτύην ὁκοῖόν τι ποιέοντες θεοῖσι μέλλοιεν χαριεῖσθαι. ἐπειρωτῶσι δὲ σφι ταῦτα χρηστήριον ἐγένετο ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσῃσι. ταῦτα δὲ ὥς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, ὀρμέατο ἐκδιδόναι· ὀρμημένου δὲ ταύτῃ τοῦ πλήθεος, Ἀριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλείδῃ ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν ἐὼν δόκιμος ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους, ἀπιστέων τε τῷ χρησμῷ καὶ δοκέων τοὺς θεοπρόπους οὐ λέγειν ἀληθείας, ἐς ὃ τὸ δεύτερον περὶ Πακτύῃ ἐπειρησόμενοι ἦσαν ἄλλοι θεοπρόποι, τῶν καὶ Ἀριστόδικος ἦν.

159. Ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς Βραγχίδας ἐχρηστηριάζετο ἐκ πάντων Ἀριστόδικος ἐπειρωτῶν τάδε. “ὦναξ, ἦλθε παρ’ ἡμέας ἰκέτης Πακτύης ὁ Λυδός, φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον πρὸς Περσέων· οἱ δὲ μιν ἐξαιτέονται, προεῖναι Κυμαίους κελεύοντες. ἡμεῖς δὲ δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν τὸν ἰκέτην

Mazares the Mede, when he came to Sardis with whatever part he had of Cyrus' army and found Pactyes' followers no longer there, first of all compelled the Lydians to carry out Cyrus' commands; and by his order they changed their whole manner of life. After this, he sent messengers to Cyme demanding that Pactyes be given up. The Cymaeans resolved to make the god at Branchidae their judge as to what counsel they should take; for there was there an ancient place of divination, which all the Ionians and Aeolians were wont to consult; the place is in the land of Miletus, above the harbour of Panormus.

158. The men of Cyme then sent to Branchidae to inquire of the shrine what they should do in the matter of Pactyes that should be most pleasing to the gods; and the oracle replied that they must give Pactyes up to the Persians. When this answer came back to them, they set about giving him up. But while the greater part were for doing this, Aristodicus son of Heraclides, a notable man among the citizens, stayed the men of Cyme from this deed; for he disbelieved the oracle and thought that those who had inquired of the god spoke untruly; till at last a second band of inquirers was sent to inquire concerning Pactyes, among whom was Aristodicus.

159. When they came to Branchidae Aristodicus speaking for all put this question to the oracle: "O King, Pactyes the Lydian hath fled to us for refuge to save him from a violent death at the hands of the Persians; and they demand him of us, bidding the men of Cyme to give him up. But we, for all that we fear the Persian power, have not made bold

ἐς τόδε οὐ τετολμήκαμεν ἐκδιδόναι, πρὶν ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν δηλωθῇ ἀτρεκέως ὁκότερα ποιέωμεν." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ὁ δ' αὖτις τὸν αὐτόν σφι χρησμόν ἔφαινε, κελεύων ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσησι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀριστόδικος ἐκ προνοίης ἐποίεε τάδε· περιὼν τὸν νηὸν κύκλῳ ἐξαίρειε τοὺς στρουθοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἦν νενοσσευμένα ὀρνίθων γένηα ἐν τῷ νηῷ. ποιέοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγεται φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γενέσθαι φέρουσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόδικον, λέγουσαν δὲ τάδε "Ἀνοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τί τάδε τολμᾷς ποιέειν; τοὺς ἰκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ κεραίξεις;" Ἀριστόδικον δὲ οὐκ ἀπορήσαντα πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν "ὦναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν οὕτω τοῖσι ἰκέτησι βοηθείεις, Κυμαίους δὲ κελεύεις τὸν ἰκέτην ἐκδιδόναι;" τὸν δὲ αὖτις ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσιδε "Ναὶ κελεύω, ἵνα γε ἀσεβήσαντες θᾶσσον ἀπόλησθε, ὥς μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ ἰκετέων ἐκδόσιος ἔλθητε ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον."

160. Ταῦτα ὥς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, οὐ βουλόμενοι οὔτε ἐκδόντες ἀπολέσθαι οὔτε παρ' ἐωυτοῖσι ἔχοντες πολιορκέεσθαι, ἐκπέμπουσι αὐτὸν ἐς Μυτιλήνην. οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπιπέμποντος τοῦ Μαζάρους ἀγγελίας ἐκδιδόναι τὸν Πακτύην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δὴ· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τοῦτό γε εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως· οὐ γὰρ ἐτελεώθη. Κυμαῖοι γὰρ ὥς ἔμαθον ταῦτα πρησόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοῖον ἐς Λέσβον ἐκκομίζουσι Πακτύην ἐς Χίον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐξ ἱεροῦ Ἀθηναίης πολιούχου ἀποσπασθεὶς ὑπὸ Χίων ἐξεδόθη· ἐξέδοσαν δὲ οἱ Χῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀταρνέι μισθῷ· τοῦ δὲ Ἀταρνέος τούτου ἐστὶ χώρος



to give up this our suppliant, until thy will be clearly made known to us, whether we shall do this or not." Thus Aristodicus questioned; and the god gave again the same answer, that Pactyes should be delivered up to the Persians. With that Aristodicus did as he had already purposed; he went round about the temple, and stole away the sparrows and all other families of nesting birds that were in it. But while he so did, a voice (they say) came out of the inner shrine calling to Aristodicus, and saying, "Thou wickedest of men, wherefore darest thou do this? wilt thou rob my temple of those that take refuge with me?" Then Aristodicus had his answer ready: "O King," said he, "wilt thou thus save thine own suppliants, yet bid the men of Cyme deliver up theirs?" But the god made answer, "Yea, I do bid them, that ye may the sooner perish for your impiety, and never again come to inquire of my oracle concerning the giving up of them that seek refuge with you."

160. When this answer was brought to the hearing of the Cymaeans they sent Pactyes away to Mytilene; for they desired neither to perish for delivering him up nor to be besieged for keeping him with them. Then Mazares sent a message to Mytilene demanding the surrender of Pactyes, and the Mytilenaeans prepared to give him, for a price; I cannot say with exactness how much it was, for the bargain was never fulfilled; for when the Cymaeans learnt that the Mytilenaeans had this in hand, they sent a ship to Lesbos and brought Pactyes away to Chios. Thence he was dragged out of the temple of City-guarding Athene and delivered up by the Chians, they receiving in return Atarneus, which is a district

τῆς Μουσίης, Λέσβου ἀντίος. Πακτύην μὲν νυν παραδεξάμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, θέλοντες Κύρῳ ἀποδέξαι. ἦν δὲ χρόνος οὗτος οὐκ ὀλίγος γινόμενος, ὅτε Χίων οὐδεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος τούτου οὔτε οὐλὰς κριθέων πρόχυσιν ἐποίεετο θεῶν οὐδενὶ οὔτε πέμματα ἐπέσσετο καρποῦ τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν, ἀπείχετό τε τῶν πάντων ἱρῶν τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ταύτης γινόμενα.

161. Χίοι μὲν νυν Πακτύην ἐξέδοσαν· Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλον, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Πριηνέας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, τοῦτο δὲ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον πᾶν ἐπέδραμε λήϊν ποιεύμενος τῷ στρατῷ, Μαγνησίην τε ὡσαύτως. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτίκα νοῦσφ τελευτᾷ.

162. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου, Ἄρπαγος κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς στρατηγίης, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μῆδος, τὸν ὁ Μῆδων βασιλεὺς Ἀστυάγης ἀνόμφτραπέξῃ ἔδαισε, ὁ τῷ Κύρῳ τὴν βασιληίην συγκατεργασάμενος. οὗτος ὦνῆρ τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθεὶς ὥς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, αἶρεε τὰς πόλιας χώμασι· ὅκως γὰρ τειχήρεας ποιήσκει, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν χώματα χῶν πρὸς τὰ τείχεα ἐπόρθει.

163. Πρώτῃ δὲ Φωκαίῃ Ἰωνίης ἐπεχείρησε. οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες οὗτοι ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τὸν τε Ἀδρίην καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίην καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες· ἐναυτίλονται δὲ οὐ στρογγύλῃσι νηυσὶ ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέροισι. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσὸν προσφιλέες ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ταρτησίων,

in Mysia over against Lesbos. The Persians thus received Pactyes and kept him guarded, that they might show him to Cyrus; and for a long time no Chian would offer sacrifice of barley meal from this land of Atarneus to any god, or make sacrificial cakes of what grew there; nothing that came from that country might be used for any sacred rite.

161. Pactyes being then delivered up by the Chians, Mazares presently led his army against those who had helped to besiege Tabalus, and he enslaved the people of Priene, and overran the plain of the Maeandrus, giving it up to his army to pillage, and Magnesia likewise. Immediately after this he died of a sickness.

162. After his death Harpagus came down to succeed him in his command, a Median like Mazares; this is that Harpagus who was entertained by Astyages the Median king at that unnatural feast, and who helped to win the kingship for Cyrus. This man was now made general by Cyrus. When he came to Ionia, he took the cities by building mounds; he would drive the men within their walls and then build mounds against the walls and so take the cities.

163. Phocaea was the first Ionian town that he assailed. These Phocaeans were the earliest of the Greeks to make long sea-voyages: it was they who discovered the Adriatic Sea, and Tyrrhenia, and Iberia, and Tartessus,<sup>1</sup> not sailing in round freight-ships but in fifty-oared vessels. When they came to Tartessus they made friends with the king of the

<sup>1</sup> The lower valley of the Guadalquivir. Later Tartessus was identified with Gades (Cadiz), which Herodotus (iv. 8) calls Gadir.

τῷ οὐνομα μὲν ἦν Ἀργανθώνιος, ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Τάρτησσοῦ ὀγδῶκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσφιλέες οἱ Φωκαῖέες οὕτω δὴ τι ἐγένοντο ὥς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα σφέας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευε τῆς ἐωυτοῦ χώρης οἰκῆσαι ὅκου βούλονται· μετὰ δέ, ὥς τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς Φωκαῖέας, ὁ δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Μῆδον παρ' αὐτῶν ὥς αὖξοιτο, ἐδίδου σφί χρήματα τείχος περιβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐδίδου δὲ ἀφειδέως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ περίοδος τοῦ τείχεος οὐκ ὀλίγοι στάδιοι εἰσί, τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν λίθων μεγάλων καὶ εὖ συναρμοσμένων.

164. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τείχος τοῖσι Φωκαεῦσι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἐξεποιήθη. ὁ δὲ Ἄρπαγος ὥς ἐπήλασε τὴν στρατιήν, ἐπολιόρκεε αὐτούς, προῖσχόμενος ἔπεα ὥς οἱ καταχρᾶ εἰ βούλονται Φωκαῖέες προμαχεῶνα ἓνα μῦνον τοῦ τείχεος ἐρεῖψαι καὶ οἰκημα ἐν κατιρῶσαι. οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖέες περιημεκτέοντες τῇ δουλοσύνῃ ἔφασαν θέλειν βουλευσασθαι ἡμέρην μίαν καὶ ἔπειτα ὑποκρινέεσθαι· ἐν ᾧ δὲ βουλεύονται αὐτοί, ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκείνον ἐκέλευον τὴν στρατιήν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος. ὁ δ' Ἄρπαγος ἔφη εἰδέναι μὲν εὖ τὰ ἐκείνοι μέλλοιεν ποιεῖν, ὅμως δὲ σφί παριέναι βουλευσασθαι, ἐν ᾧ ὦν ὁ Ἄρπαγος ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατιήν, οἱ Φωκαῖέες ἐν τούτῳ κατασπάσαντες τὰς πεντηκοντέρους, ἐσθέμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἔπιπλα πάντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, χωρὶς ὃ τι χαλκός ἢ λίθος ἢ γραφὴ ἦν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐσθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσβάντες ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Χίου. τὴν δὲ Φωκαίην ἐρημωθεῖσαν ἀνδρῶν ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι.



Tartessians, whose name was Arganthonius; he ruled Tartessus for eighty years and lived an hundred and twenty.<sup>1</sup> The Phocaeans so won this man's friendship that he first entreated them to leave Ionia and settle in his country where they would; and then, when he could not persuade them to that, and learnt from them how the Median power was increasing, he gave them money to build a wall round their city therewith. Without stint he gave it; for the circuit of the wall is of many furlongs, and all this is made of great stones well fitted together.

164. In such a manner was the Phocaeans' wall fully made. Harpagus marched against the city and besieged it, but he made overtures, and said that it would suffice him if the Phocaeans would demolish one bastion of the wall and dedicate one house. But the Phocaeans, very wroth at the thought of slavery, said they desired to take counsel for one day, and then they would answer; but while they were consulting, Harpagus must, they said, withdraw his army from the walls. Harpagus said that he knew well what they purposed to do, but that nevertheless he would suffer them to take counsel. So while Harpagus withdrew his army from the walls, the Phocaeans launched their fifty-oared ships, placed in them their children and women and all movable goods, besides the statues from the temples and all things therein dedicated save bronze or stonework or painting, and then themselves embarked and set sail for Chios; and the Persians took Phocaea, thus left uninhabited.

<sup>1</sup> A common Greek tradition, apparently; Anacreon (Fr. 8) says "I would not . . . rule Tartessus for an hundred and fifty years."

165. Οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες, ἐπεῖτε σφί Χῖοι τὰς νήσους τὰς Οἰνούσας καλεομένας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ὠνευμένοισι πωλέειν, δειμαίνοντες μὴ αἱ μὲν ἐμπόριον γένωνται, ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν νήσος ἀποκληισθῇ τούτου εἵνεκα, πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Φωκαῖες ἐστέλλοντο ἐς Κύρνον· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κύρνῳ εἴκοσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἀνεστήσαντο πόλιν, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀλαλίη. Ἀργανθώνιος δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἤδη τετελευτήκεε. στελλόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, πρῶτα καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην κατεφόνευσαν τῶν Περσέων τὴν φυλακὴν, ἣ ἐφρούρεε παραδεξαμένη παρὰ Ἀρπάγου τὴν πόλιν. μετὰ δέ, ὥς τοῦτό σφί ἐξέργαστο, ἐποίησαντο ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ ἑωυτῶν τοῦ στόλου, πρὸς δὲ ταύτῃσι καὶ μύδρον σιδήρεον κατεπόντωσαν καὶ ὤμοσαν μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φωκαίην ἥξειν πρὶν ἢ τὸν μύδρον τοῦτον ἀναφανῆναι. στελλομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, ὑπερημίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν ἔλαβε πόθος τε καὶ οἶκτος τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῶν ἡθέων τῆς χώρας, ψευδόρκιοι δὲ γενόμενοι ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ ὄρκιον ἐφύλασσαν, ἀερθέντες ἐκ τῶν Οἰνουσσέων ἔπλεον.

166. Επεῖτε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύρνον ἀπίκοντο, οἶκεον κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν πρότερον ἀπικομένων ἐπ' ἕτεα πέντε, καὶ ἱρὰ ἐνιδρύσαντο. καὶ ἦγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς περιόικους ἅπαντας, στρατεύονται ὧν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, νηυσὶ ἐκάτεροι ἐξήκοντα. οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ἔοντα ἀριθμὸν ἐξήκοντα, ἀντίαζον ἐς τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεόμενον πέλαγος. συμμασ-

165. The Phocaeans would have bought of the Chians the islands called Oenussae<sup>1</sup>; but the Chians would not sell them, because they feared that the islands would become a market and so their own island be cut off from its trade: so the Phocaeans made ready to sail to Cynus,<sup>2</sup> where at the command of an oracle they had twenty years before this built a city called Alalia. Arganthonius was by this time dead. While making ready for their voyage, they first sailed to Phocaea, where they slew the Persian guard to whom Harpagus had entrusted the defence of the city; and this being done, they called down mighty curses on whosoever of themselves should stay behind when the rest sailed. Not only so, but they sank in the sea a mass of iron, and swore never to return to Phocaea before the iron should again appear. But while they prepared to voyage to Cynus, more than half of the citizens were taken with a longing and a pitiful sorrow for the city and the life of their land, and they broke their oath and sailed back to Phocaea. Those of them who kept the oath set out to sea from the Oenussae.

166. And when they came to Cynus they dwelt there for five years as one body with those who had first come, and they founded temples there. But they harried and plundered all their neighbours: wherefore the Tyrrhenians and Carchedonians made common cause against them, and sailed to attack them each with sixty ships. The Phocaeans also manned their ships, sixty in number, and met the enemy in the sea called Sardonian. They joined

<sup>1</sup> Between Chios and the mainland.

<sup>2</sup> Corsica.

γόντων δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Καδμεΐη τις νίκη τοῖσι Φωκαιεῦσι ἐγένετο· αἱ μὲν γὰρ τεσσεράκοντά σφι νέες διεφθάρησαν, αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι αἱ περιεοῦσαι ἦσαν ἄχρηστοι· ἀπεστράφατο γὰρ τοὺς ἐμβόλους. καταπλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀλαλίνην ἀνέλαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κτήσιν ὅσῃν οἰαί τε ἐγίνοντο αἱ νέες σφι ἄγειν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπέντες τὴν Κύρνον ἔπλεον ἐς Ῥήγιον.

167. Τῶν δὲ διαφθαρεισέων νεῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας οἳ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἳ Τυρσηνοὶ [διέλαχον, τῶν δὲ Τυρσηνῶν οἳ Ἀγυλλαῖοι]<sup>1</sup> ἔλαχόν τε αὐτῶν πολλῶ πλείστους καὶ τούτους ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν. μετὰ δὲ Ἀγυλλαίοισι πάντα τὰ παριόντα τὸν χῶρον, ἐν τῷ οἳ Φωκαιέες καταλευσθέντες ἐκέατο, ἐγίνετο διάστροφα καὶ ἔμπηρα καὶ ἀπόπληκτα, ὁμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἄνθρωποι. οἳ δὲ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἐς Δελφούς ἐπεμπον βουλόμενοι ἀκέσασθαι τὴν ἀμαρτιάδα. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευσε ποιέειν τὰ καὶ νῦν οἳ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἔτι ἐπιτελέουσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐναγίζουσί σφι μεγάλως καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Φωκαιέων τοιοῦτῳ μῶρῳ διεχρήσαντο, οἳ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον καταφυγόντες ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμώμενοι ἐκτήσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρῆς ταύτην ἣτις νῦν Τέλη καλεῖται· ἐκτισαν δὲ ταύτην πρὸς ἀνδρὸς Ποσειδωνιήτεω μαθόντες ὥς τὸν Κύρνον σφι ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε κτίσαι ἥρων ἐόντα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν νῆσον.

<sup>1</sup> The words in brackets are Stein's conjecture; the MSS. have nothing between Τυρσηνοὶ and ἐλαχον.



battle, and the Phocaeans won, yet it was but a Cadmean victory<sup>1</sup>; for they lost forty of their ships, and the twenty that remained were useless, their rams being twisted awry. Then sailing to Alalia they took on board their children and women and all of their possessions that their ships could hold, and leaving Cynus they sailed to Rhegium.

167. As for the crews of the destroyed ships, the Carchedonians and Tyrrhenians drew lots for them: and by far the greater share of them falling to the Tyrrhenian city of Agylla,<sup>2</sup> the Agyllaeans led them out and stoned them to death. But after this all from Agylla, whether sheep or beasts of burden or men, that passed the place where the stoned Phocaeans lay, became distorted and crippled and palsied. The Agyllaeans sent to Delphi, desiring to heal their offence; and the Pythian priestess bade them do what the people of Agylla to this day perform: for they pay great honours to the Phocaeans, with religious rites and games, and horse-races. Such was the end of this portion of the Phocaeans. Those of them who fled to Rhegium set out from thence and gained possession of that Oenotrian<sup>3</sup> city which is now called Hyele<sup>4</sup>; this they founded because they learnt from a man of Posidonia that when the Pythian priestess spoke of founding a settlement and of Cynus, it was the hero that she signified and not the island.

<sup>1</sup> Polynices and Eteocles, sons of Oedipus and descendants of Cadmus, fought for the possession of Thebes and killed each other. Hence a Cadmean victory means one where victor and vanquished suffer alike.

<sup>2</sup> Later Caere in Etruria.

<sup>3</sup> Oenotria corresponds to Southern Italy (the Lucania and Bruttium of Roman history). <sup>4</sup> Later Elea (Velia).

168. Φωκαίης μὲν νυν πέρι τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ οὕτω ἔσχε, παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοισι καὶ Τήιοι ἐποίησαν. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ σφέων εἶλε χῶματι τὸ τεῖχος Ἄρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρηίκης, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν Ἀβδηρα, τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας οὐκ ἀπόνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Θρηίκων ἐξελασθεὶς τιμὰς νῦν ὑπὸ Τηίων τῶν ἐν Ἀβδήροισι ὡς ἥρως ἔχει.

169. Οὗτοι μὲν νυν Ἰώνων μῦνοι τὴν δουλοσύνην οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι ἐξέλιπον τὰς πατρίδας· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἴωνες πλὴν Μιλησίων διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπύκοντο Ἀρπάγῳ κατὰ περ οἱ ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἑαστος μαχόμενοι, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀλόντες ἔμενον κατὰ χώραν ἑαστοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον. Μιλήσιοι δέ, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, αὐτῷ Κύρῳ ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι ἡσυχίην ἤγον. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δευτέρον Ἰωνίᾳ ἐδεδούλωτο. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἴωνας ἐχειρώσατο Ἄρπαγος, οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχοντες Ἴωνες καταρρωδήσαντες ταῦτα σφέας αὐτοὺς ἔδωσαν Κύρῳ.

170. Κεκακωμένων δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ συλλεγομένων οὐδὲν ἦσσον ἐς τὸ Πανιώνιον, πυνθάνομαι γνώμην Βίαντα ἄνδρα Πριηνέα ἀποδέξασθαι Ἴωσι χρησιμωτάτην, τῇ εἰ ἐπείθοντο, παρεῖχε ἂν σφι εὐδαιμονέειν Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα· ὃς ἐκέλευε κοινῶ στόλῳ Ἴωνας ἀερθέντας πλέειν ἐς Σαρδῶ καὶ ἔπειτα πόλιν μίαν κτίζειν πάντων Ἰώνων, καὶ οὕτω ἀπαλλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐδαιμονήσειν, νήσων τε ἀπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλων· μένουσι δὲ σφι ἐν τῇ

168. Thus, then, it fared with the Ionian Phocaea. The Teians did in like manner with the Phocaeans: when Harpagus had taken their walled city by building a mound, they all embarked on shipboard and sailed away for Thrace. There they founded a city, Abdera, which before this had been founded by Timesius of Clazomenae; yet he got no good of it, but was driven out by the Thracians. This Timesius is now honoured as a hero by the Teians of Abdera.

169. These were the only Ionians who, being unable to endure slavery, left their native lands. The rest of the Ionians, except the Milesians, though they faced Harpagus in battle as did the exiles, and bore themselves gallantly, each fighting for his own country, yet, when they were worsted and their cities taken, remained each where he was and did as they were commanded. The Milesians, as I have already said, made a treaty with Cyrus himself and struck no blow. Thus was Ionia for the second time enslaved: and when Harpagus had conquered the Ionians of the mainland, the Ionians of the islands, fearing the same fate, surrendered themselves to Cyrus.

170. When the Ionians, despite their evil plight, did nevertheless assemble at the Panionion, Bias of Priene, as I have heard, gave them very useful advice, which had they followed they might have been the most prosperous of all Greeks: for he counselled them to put out to sea and sail all together to Sardo and then found one city for all Ionians: thus, possessing the greatest island in the world and bearing rule over others, they would be rid of slavery and win prosperity; but if they stayed in Ionia he could see (he

Ἰωνίῃ οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι ἐσομένην. αὕτη μὲν Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέος γνώμη ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοισι Ἰωσι γενομένη, χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθαρῆναι Ἰωνίην Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος εὐντος Φοίνικος, ὃς ἐκέλευε ἐν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέφ (Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης), τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλιας οἰκεσμένας μηδὲν ἡσσαν νομίζεσθαι κατὰ περ εἰ δῆμοι εἶεν· οὗτοι μὲν δὴ σφι γνώμας τοιάσδε ἀπεδέξαντο.

171. "Ἀρπαγος δὲ καταστρεφάμενος Ἰωνίην ἐποιέετο στρατήϊν ἐπὶ Κᾶρας καὶ Καυνίους καὶ Λυκίους, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. εἰσὶ δὲ τούτων Κᾶρες μὲν ἀπιγμένοι ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκ τῶν νήσων. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν εὐντες Μίνω κατήκοοι καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες εἶχον τὰς νήσους, φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελέοντες, ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατός εἰμι ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ· οἱ δέ, ὅπως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οἱ τὰς νέας. ἅτε δὴ Μίνω τε κατεστραμμένου γῆν πολλὴν καὶ εὐτυχέοντος τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ Καρικὸν ἦν ἔθνος λογιμώτατον τῶν ἐθνέων ἀπάντων κατὰ τοῦτον ἅμα τὸν χρόνον μακρῷ μάλιστα. καὶ σφι τριζὰ ἐξευρήματα ἐγένετο, τοῖσι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λόφους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κᾶρες εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημήια ποιεέσθαι, καὶ ὄχανα ἀσπίσι οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι· τέως δὲ ἄνευ ὀχάνων ἐφόρεον τὰς ἀσπίδας πάντες οἱ περ ἑώθεσαν ἀσπίσι χρᾶσθαι, τελαμῶσι σκυτίνοισι οἰηκίζοντες, περὶ τοῖσι αὐχέσι τε καὶ τοῖσι ἀριστεροῖσι ὤμοισι περικεί-



said) no hope of freedom for them. Such was the counsel which Bias of Priene gave after the destruction of the Ionians; and good also was that given before the destruction by Thales of Miletus, a Phœnician by descent; he would have had the Ionians make one common place of counsel, which should be in Teos, for that was the centre of Ionia; and the state of the other cities should be held to be no other than if they were but townships. Thus Bias and Thales advised.

171. Harpagus, after subduing Ionia, made an expedition against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians, taking with him Ionians and Aeolians. Now among these the Carians were a people who had come to the mainland from the islands; for in old time they were islanders, called Leleges and under the rule of Minos, not (as far as I can learn by hearsay) paying him tribute, but manning ships for him when he needed them. Seeing then that Minos had subdued much territory to himself and was victorious in war, this made the Carians too at that time to be very far the most regarded of all nations. Three things they invented in which they were followed by the Greeks: it was the Carians who first taught the wearing of crests on their helmets and devices on their shields, and who first made for their shields holders; till then all who used shields carried them without these holders, and guided them with leathern baldrics which they slung round

μενοι. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κᾶρας χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῶ Δωριέες τε καὶ Ἴωνες ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νήσων, καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπίκοντο. κατὰ μὲν δὴ Κᾶρας οὕτω Κρήτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε ὁμολογέουσι τούτοις οἱ Κᾶρες, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἐωντοὺς εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἡπειρώτας, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷ περ νῦν. ἀποδεικνῦσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοις Διὸς Καρίου ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὥς κασιγνήτοις ἐοῦσι τοῖσι Καρσί· τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεούς. τούτοις μὲν δὴ μέτεστι, ὅσοι δὲ ἔόντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος ὁμόγλωσσοι τοῖσι Καρσί ἐγένοντο, τούτοις δὲ οὐ μέτα.

172. Οἱ δὲ Καύνιοι αὐτόχθονες δοκέειν ἐμοὶ εἰσί, αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶ εἶναι. προσκεχωρήκασι δὲ γλῶσσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸ Καρικὸν ἔθνος, ἣ οἱ Κᾶρες πρὸς τὸ Καυνικόν (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι), νόμοις δὲ χρέωνται κεχωρισμένοις πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ Καρῶν. τοῖσι γὰρ κάλλιστον ἐστὶ κατ' ἡλικίην τε καὶ φιλότητα εἰλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐς πόσιν, καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισί. ἰδρυθέντων δὲ σφί ἱρῶν ξεινικῶν, μετέπειτα ὥς σφί ἀπέδοξε, ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖσι πατρίοις μῦνον χράσθαι θεοῖσι, ἐνδύντες τὰ ὅπλα ἅπαντες Καύνιοι ἡβηδόν, τύπτοντες δόρασι τὸν ἥερα, μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Καλυνδικῶν εἴποντο, καὶ ἔφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικοὺς θεοὺς.

the neck and over the left shoulder.<sup>1</sup> Then, a long time afterwards, the Carians were driven from the islands by Dorians and Ionians and so came to the mainland. This is the Cretan story about the Carians; but they themselves do not consent to it, but hold that they are aboriginal dwellers on the mainland and ever bore the name which they bear now; and they point to an ancient shrine of Carian Zeus at Mylasa, whereto Mysians and Lydians, as brethren of the Carians (for Lydus and Mysus, they say, were brothers of Car), are admitted, but none of any other nation, though they learned to speak the same language as the Carians.

172. The Caunians, to my mind, are aborigines of the soil; but they themselves say that they came from Crete. Their speech has grown like to the Carian, or the Carian to theirs (for that I cannot clearly determine), but in their customs they are widely severed from the Carians, as from all other men. Their chief pleasure is to assemble for drinking-bouts in such companies as accord with their ages and friendships—men, women, and children. Certain foreign rites of worship were established among them; but presently when they were otherwise minded, and would worship only the gods of their fathers, all Caunian men of full age put on their armour and went together as far as the boundaries of Calynda, smiting the air with their spears and saying that they were casting out the stranger gods.

<sup>1</sup> This is the management of the Homeric "man-covering" shield, as shown in the *Iliad*. The shield is not carried on the arm, but hangs by a belt which passes over the left shoulder and under the right arm-pit; by a pull on the *τελαμὴν* it can be shifted so as to protect breast or back.

173. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τρόποισι τοιούτοισι χρέωνται, οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης τῶρχαῖον γεγόνασι (τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι)· διενειχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιλείης τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων Σαρπηδόνος τε καὶ Μίνω, ὥς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσι Μίνως, ἐξήλασε αὐτὸν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλυάδα· τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὕτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλυάς, οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. ἕως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδὼν ἦρχε, οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τό πέρ τε ἡνείκαντο οὔνομα καὶ νῦν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι· ὥς δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Πανδίοιος, ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέος, ἀπίκητο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν. νόμοισι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖσι τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέωνται. ἐν δὲ τῷδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων· καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἐωυτοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων· εἰρομένου δὲ ἑτέρου τὸν πλησίον τίς εἴη, καταλέξει ἐωυτὸν μητρόθεν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς μητέρας. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ δούλῳ συνοικήσῃ, γενναῖα τὰ τέκνα νενομίσται· ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀστὸς καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν γυναῖκα ξείνην ἢ παλλακὴν ἔχῃ, ἅτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεται.

174. Οἱ μὲν νυν Κᾶρες οὐδὲν λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἀποδεξάμενοι ἐδουλώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀρπάγου, οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Κᾶρες ἀποδεξάμενοι οὐδέν, οὔτε ὅσοι Ελλήνων ταύτην τὴν χώραν οἰκέουσι· οἰκέουσι



173. Such are their fashions. The Lycians were of Crete in ancient times (for of old none that dwelt in Crete were Greek). Now there was a dispute in Crete about the royal power between Sarpedon and Minos, sons of Europe; Minos prevailed in this division and drove out Sarpedon and his partisans; who, being thrust out, came to the Milyan land in Asia. What is now possessed by the Lycians was of old Milyan, and the Milyans were then called Solymi. For a while Sarpedon ruled them, and the people were called Termilæ, which was the name that they had brought with them and that is still given to the Lycians by their neighbours; but after the coming from Athens of Lycus son of Pandion—another exile, another exile, banished by his brother Aegæus—to join Sarpedon in the land of the Termilæ, they came in time to be called Lycians after Lycus. Their customs are in part Cretan and in part Carian. But they have one which is their own and shared by no other men; they take their names not from their fathers but from their mothers; and when one is asked by his neighbour who he is, he will say that he is the son of such a mother, and recount the mothers of his mother. Nay, if a woman of full rights marry a slave, her children are deemed pure-born; and if a true-born Lycian man take a stranger wife or concubine, the children are dishonoured, though he be the first in the land.

174. Neither then the Carians nor any Greeks who dwell in this country did any deed of note before they were all enslaved by Harpagus. Among

δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι Κνίδιοι. οἱ τῆς χώρας τῆς σφετέρης τετραμμένης ἐς πόντον, τὸ δὴ Τριόπιον καλέεται, ἀργμένης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς Βυβασσίας, εὐούσης τε πάσης τῆς Κνιδίης πλὴν ὀλίγης περιρρόου (τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ὁ Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἢ κατὰ Σύμην τε καὶ Ῥόδον θάλασσα), τὸ ὦν δὴ ὀλίγον τοῦτο, εἶν ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ὥρυσσον οἱ Κνίδιοι ἐν ὅσῳ Ἄρπαγος τὴν Ἰωνίην κατεστρέφετο, βουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώραν ποιῆσαι. ἐντὸς δὲ πᾶσά σφι ἐγένετο· τῇ γὰρ ἡ Κνιδίη χώρα ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τελευτᾷ, ταύτῃ ὁ ἰσθμὸς ἐστὶ τὸν ὥρυσσον. καὶ δὴ πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐργαζομένων τῶν Κνιδίων, μᾶλλον γάρ τι καὶ θεϊότερον ἐφαίνοντο τιτρώσκεσθαι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος τά τε ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς θραυομένης τῆς πέτρης, ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους ἐπειρησομένους τὸ ἀντίξουν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι, ὥς αὐτοὶ Κνίδιοι λέγουσι, χρᾶ ἐν τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε.

Ἴσθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε μῆδ' ὀρύσσετε·  
 Ζεὺς γάρ κ' ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἴ κ' ἐβούλετο.

Κνίδιοι μὲν ταῦτα τῆς Πυθίης χρησάσης τοῦ τε ὀρύγματος ἐπαύσαντο καὶ Ἄρπάγῳ ἐπιόντι σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδωσαν.

175. Ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέοντες ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ μεσόγαιαν· τοῖσι ὅκως τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδεον ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσί τε καὶ τοῖσι περιοίκοις, ἡ ἱρεὶα τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἴσχε. τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο. οὗτοι τῶν περὶ Καρίην

those who inhabit it are certain Cnidians, colonists from Lacedaemon. Their country (it is called the Triopion) lies between the sea and that part of the peninsula which belongs to Bubassus, and all but a little part of the Cnidian territory is sea-girt; for it is bounded on the north by the gulf of Ceramicus, and on the south by the sea off Syme and Rhodes. Now while Harpagus was conquering Ionia, the Cnidians dug a trench across this little space, which is about five furlongs wide, in order that so their country might be an island. So they brought it all within the entrenchment; for the frontier between the Cnidian country and the mainland is on the isthmus across which they dug. Many of them were at this work; and seeing that the workers were more often hurt and less naturally than ordinary, some in other parts, but most in the eyes, by the breaking of stones, the Cnidians sent envoys to Delphi to inquire what it was that so hindered them. Then, as they themselves say, the priestess gave them this answer in iambic verse:

“Nor wall nor dig across your isthmus; long ago  
Your land had been an isle, if Zeus had willed  
it so.”

At this answer from the priestess the Cnidians ceased from their digging, and when Harpagus came against them with his army they surrendered to him without resistance.

175. There were also certain folk of Pedasa, dwelling inland of Halicarnassus; when any misfortune was coming upon them or their neighbours, the priestess of Athene grew a great beard. This had happened to them thrice. These were the only

ἀνδρῶν μούνοί τε ἀντέσχον χρόνον Ἀρπάγων καὶ πρήγματα παρέσχον πλείστα, ὅρος τειχίσαντες τῷ οὐνομα ἐστὶ Λίδη.

176. Πηδασέες μὲν νυν χρόνῳ ἐξαιρέθησαν. Λύκιοι δέ, ὥς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδῖον ἤλασε ὁ Ἀρπαγος τὸν στρατόν, ἐπεξιόντες καὶ μαχόμενοι ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀρετὰς ἀπεδείκνυντο, ἐσσωθέντες δέ καὶ κατειληθέντες ἐς τὸ ἄστυ συνήλισαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπῆψαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καίεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομόσαντες ὅρκους δεινούς, ἐπεξελθόντες ἀπέθανον πάντες Ξάνθιοι μαχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ νῦν Λυκίων φαμένων Ξανθίων εἶναι οἱ πολλοί, πλὴν ὀγδῶκοντα ἰστιάων, εἰσὶ ἐπήλυδες· αἱ δὲ ὀγδῶκοντα ἰστίαι αὗται ἔτυχον τηνικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσαι καὶ οὕτω περιεγέροντο. τὴν μὲν δὴ Ξάνθον οὕτω ἔσχε ὁ Ἀρπαγος, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Καῦνον ἔσχε· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καύνιοι τοὺς Λυκίους ἐμιμήσαντο τὰ πλέω.

177. Τὰ μὲν νυν κάτω τῆς Ἀσίης Ἀρπαγος ἀνάστατα ἐποίηε, τὰ δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς αὐτὸς Κῦρος, πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παρίεις. τὰ μὲν νυν αὐτῶν πλέω παρήσομεν· τὰ δὲ οἱ παρέσχε τε πόνον πλείστον καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατα ἐστὶ, τούτων ἐπιμνήσομαι.

178. Κῦρος ἐπεῖτε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἡπείρου ὑποχείρια ἐποίησατο, Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐπετίθετο. τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίης ἐστὶ μὲν κου καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα μεγάλα πολλά, τὸ δὲ ὀνομαστότατον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον καὶ ἔνθα σφι Νίνου ἀναστάτου γενομένης τὰ βασιλῆα κατεστήκεε, ἦν Βαβυλῶν, εὐῶσα



men near Caria who held out for long against Harpagus, and they gave him the most trouble; they fortified a hill called Lide.

176. The Pedasian stronghold being at length taken, and Harpagus having led his army into the plain of Xanthus, the Lycians came out to meet him, and did valorous deeds in their battle against odds; but being worsted and driven into the city they gathered into the citadel their wives and children and goods and servants, and then set the whole citadel on fire. Then they swore each other great oaths, and sallying out they fell fighting, all the men of Xanthus. Of the Xanthians who claim now to be Lycians the greater number—all saving eighty households—are of foreign descent; these eighty families as it chanced were at that time away from the city, and thus they survived. Thus Harpagus gained Xanthus, and Caunus too in somewhat like manner, the Caunians following for the most part the example of the Lycians.

177. Harpagus then made havoc of lower Asia; in the upper country Cyrus himself subdued every nation, leaving none untouched. Of the greater part of these I will say nothing, but will speak only of those which gave Cyrus most trouble and are worthiest to be described.

178. When Cyrus had brought all the mainland under his sway, he attacked the Assyrians. There are in Assyria many other great cities; but the most famous and the strongest was Babylon, where the royal dwelling had been set after the destruction of Ninus.<sup>1</sup> Babylon was a city such as I will now

<sup>1</sup> 606 B.C. Ninus = Nineveh.

τοιαύτη δὴ τις πόλις. κέεται ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ, μέγαθος εἰσὶν ἑκατὸν στάδιον, εἰσὶν τετραγώνου· οὗτοι στάδιοι τῆς περιόδου τῆς πόλιος γίνονται συνάπαντες ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι. τὸ μὲν νυν μέγαθος τοσοῦτον ἐστὶ τοῦ ἄστεος τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου, ἐκεκόςμητο δὲ ὥς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. τάφρος μὲν πρῶτά μιν βαθέα τε καὶ εὐρέα καὶ πλὴν ὕδατος περιθέει, μετὰ δὲ τεῖχος πεντήκοντα μὲν πηχέων βασιλῆϊον ἐὼν τὸ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ διηκοσίῳ πηχέων· ὁ δὲ βασιλῆϊος πῆχυς τοῦ μετρίου ἐστὶ πῆχεος μέζων τρισὶ δακτύλοισι.

179. Δεῖ δὴ με πρὸς τούτοις ἐτι φράσαι ἵνα τε ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἡ γῆ ἀναισιμώθῃ, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὄντινα τρόπον ἔργαστο. ὀρύσσοντες ἅμα τὴν τάφρον ἐπλίνθουν τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἐκφερομένην, ἐλκύσαντες δὲ πλίνθους ἱκανὰς ὥπτησαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμίνοισι· μετὰ δὲ τέλματι χρεώμενοι ἀσφάλτῳ θερμῇ καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων πλίνθου ταρσοὺς καλάμων διαστοιβάζοντες, ἔδειμαν πρῶτα μὲν τῆς τάφρου τὰ χεῖλεα, δεύτερα δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ τείχεος παρὰ τὰ ἔσχατα οἰκήματα μουνόκωλα ἔδειμαν, τετραμμένα ἐς ἄλληλα· τὸ μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἔλιπον τεθρίππῳ περιέλασιν. πύλαι δὲ ἐνεστᾶσι πέριξ τοῦ τείχεος ἑκατόν, χάλκεαι πᾶσαι, καὶ σταθμοὶ τε καὶ ὑπέρθυρα ὡσαύτως. ἔστι δὲ ἄλλη πόλις ἀπέχουσα ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος· Ἰς οὖνομα αὐτῇ. ἐνθα ἐστὶ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας· Ἰς καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ οὖνομα· ἐσβάλλει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον. οὗτος ὦν

describe. It lies in a great plain, and is in shape a square, each side an hundred and twenty furlongs in length; thus four hundred and eighty furlongs make the complete circuit of the city. Such is the size of the city of Babylon; and it was planned like no other city whereof we know. Round it runs first a fosse deep and wide and full of water, and then a wall of fifty royal cubits' thickness and two hundred cubits' height. The royal cubit is greater by three fingers' breadth than the common cubit.<sup>1</sup>

179. Further, I must show where the earth was used as it was taken from the fosse and in what manner the wall was wrought. As they dug the fosse, they made bricks of the earth which was carried out of the place they dug, and when they had moulded bricks enough they baked them in ovens; then using hot bitumen for cement and interposing layers of wattled reeds at every thirtieth course of bricks, they built first the border of the fosse and then the wall itself in the same fashion. On the top, along the edges of the wall, they built houses of a single chamber, facing each other, with space enough between for the driving of a four-horse chariot. There are an hundred gates in the circle of the wall, all of bronze, with posts and lintels of the same. There is another city, called Is,<sup>2</sup> eight days' journey from Babylon, where is a little river, also named Is, a tributary stream of the river Euphrates; from the

<sup>1</sup> Common cubit, 18½ inches: royal, 20½.

<sup>2</sup> The modern Hit or Ait, where the Euphrates enters the alluvial plain.

ὁ Ἴς ποταμὸς ἅμα τῷ ὕδατι θρόμβους ἀσφάλτου ἀναδιδόι πολλούς, ἐνθεν ἡ ἀσφαλτος ἐς τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τεῖχος ἐκομίσθη.

180. Ἐτετείχιστο μὲν νυν ἡ Βαβυλῶν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, ἔστι δὲ δύο φάρσεια τῆς πόλιος. τὸ γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ποταμὸς διέργει, τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Εὐφρήτης· ῥέει δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμενίων, ὧν μέγας καὶ βαθὺς καὶ ταχύς· ἐξιεῖ δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. τὸ ὧν δὴ τεῖχος ἐκάτερον τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλήλαται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου αἱ ἐπικαμπαὶ παρὰ χεῖλος ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἵμασιῇ πλίνθων ὀπτέων παρατείνει. τὸ δὲ ἄστυ αὐτό, ἔον πλήρες οἰκίῶν τριωρόφων καὶ τετρωρόφων, κατατέμνεται τὰς ὁδοὺς ἰθείας τὺς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐχούσας. κατὰ δὴ ὧν ἐκάστην ὁδὸν ἐν τῇ αἵμασιῇ τῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδες ἐπῆσαν, ὅσαι περ αἱ λαῦραι, τοσαῦται ἀριθμόν· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὗται χάλκεαι<sup>1</sup> . . . φέρουσai [καὶ αὗται] ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν.

181. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος θώρηξ ἐστὶ, ἕτερον δὲ ἔσωθεν τεῖχος περιθέει, οὐ πολλῷ τεφρῷ ἀσθενέστερον τοῦ ἑτέρου τεύχεος, στεινότερον δέ. ἐν δὲ φάρσει ἐκατέρῳ τῆς πόλιος ἐτετείχιστο ἐν μέσῳ ἐν τῷ μὲν τὰ βασιλῆα περιβόλῳ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ Διὸς Βήλου ἱρὸν χαλκόπυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι τοῦτο ἔον, δύο σταδίων πάντη, ἔον τετράγωνον. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μήκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος

<sup>1</sup> Stein supposes that there was here a mention of steps leading to the river, and that καὶ αὗται is needless and spurious.



source of this river Is rise with the water many gouts of bitumen; and from thence the bitumen was brought for the wall of Babylon.

180. Thus then was this wall built; the city is divided into two parts; for it is cut in half by a river named Euphrates, a wide, deep, and swift river, flowing from Armenia and issuing into the Red Sea. The ends of the wall, then, on either side are built quite down to the river; here they turn, and hence a fence of baked bricks runs along each bank of the stream. The city itself is full of houses three and four stories high; and the ways which traverse it—those that run crosswise towards the river, and the rest—are all straight. Further, at the end of each road there was a gate in the riverside fence, one gate for each alley; these gates also were of bronze, and these too opened on the river.

181. These walls are the city's outer armour; within them there is another encircling wall, well-nigh as strong as the other, but narrower. In the midmost of one division of the city stands the royal palace, surrounded by a high and strong wall; and in the midmost of the other is still to this day the sacred enclosure of Zeus Belus,<sup>1</sup> a square of two furlongs each way, with gates of bronze. In the centre of this enclosure a solid tower has been built, of one furlong's length and breadth; a second tower rises

<sup>1</sup> Bel or Baal, the greatest of Assyrian gods.

πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρι οὗ ὀκτῶ πύργων. ἀνάβασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐξῶθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποιήται. μεσοῦντι δέ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιος ἐστὶ καταγωγή τε καὶ θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ νηὸς ἔπεστι μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῇ νηῷ κλίνη μεγάλη κέεται εὖ ἐστρωμένη, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα παρακέεται χρυσή. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἔνι οὐδὲν αὐτόθι ἐνιδρυμένον, οὐδὲ νύκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναυλίζεται ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τὴν ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἔληται ἐκ πασέων, ὥς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἑόντες ἱρέες τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ.

182. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν τε ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ ἀμπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατὰ περ ἐν Θήβησι τῆσι Αἰγυπτίησι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὥς λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθι κοιμᾶται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Θηβαιέος γυνή, ἀμφότεραι δὲ αὗται λέγονται ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὁμιλίην φοιτᾶν· καὶ κατὰ περ ἐν Πατάροισι τῆς Λυκίης ἡ πρόμαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται· οὐ γὰρ ὦν αἰεὶ ἐστὶ χρηστήριον αὐτόθι· ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται τότε ὦν συγκατακληίεται τὰς νύκτας ἕσω ἐν τῷ νηῷ.

183. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱεροῦ καὶ ἄλλος κάτω νηὸς, ἔνθα ἄγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἐν κατήμενον χρύσειον, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλη παρακέεται χρυσή, καὶ τὸ βάθρον οἱ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρύσεος ἐστί· καὶ ὥς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων χρυσίου πεποιήται ταῦτα. ἐξῶ

from this, and from it yet another, till at last there are eight. The way up to them mounts spirally outside all the towers; about halfway in the ascent is a halting place, with seats for repose, where those who ascend sit down and rest. In the last tower there is a great shrine; and in it a great and well-covered couch is laid, and a golden table set hard by. But no image has been set up in the shrine, nor does any human creature lie therein for the night, except one native woman, chosen from all women by the god, as say the Chaldaeans, who are priests of this god.

182. These same Chaldaeans say (but I do not believe them) that the god himself is wont to visit the shrine and rest upon the couch, even as in Thebes of Egypt, as the Egyptians say (for there too a woman sleeps in the temple of Theban Zeus,<sup>1</sup> and neither the Egyptian nor the Babylonian woman, it is said, has intercourse with men), and as it is likewise with the prophetess of the god<sup>2</sup> at Patara in Lycia, whenever she be appointed; for there is not always a place of divination there; but when she is appointed she is shut up in the temple during the night.

183. In the Babylonian temple there is another shrine below, where is a great golden image of Zeus, sitting at a great golden table, and the footstool and the chair are also of gold; the gold of the whole was said by the Chaldeans to be of eight hundred talents' weight.

<sup>1</sup> Amon-Api (Greek Ἀμείνωπις); cp. ii. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Apollo.

δὲ τοῦ νηοῦ βωμός ἐστι χρύσεος, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βωμός μέγας, ἐπ' οὗ θύεται τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ χρυσεοῦ βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν ὅτι μὴ γαλαθηνὰ μούνα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέζονος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίξουσι λιβανωτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα ἔτεος ἐκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τότε ἐπεὰν τὴν ὀρτὴν ἄγωσι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ ἔτι τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον καὶ ἀνδριάς δυώδεκα πηχέων χρύσεος στερεός· ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ εἶδον, τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων, ταῦτα λέγω. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδριάντι Δαρεῖος μὲν ὁ Ὑστάσπεος ἐπιβουλευσας οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν, Ξέρξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου ἔλαβε καὶ τὸν ἱεὲς ἀπέκτεινε ἀπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινεῖν τὸν ἀνδριάντα. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱερὸν τοῦτο οὕτω κεκόσμηται, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἴδια ἀναθήματα πολλά.

184. Τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης πολλοὶ μὲν κού καὶ ἄλλοι ἐγένοντο βασιλεές, τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγοισι μνήμην ποιήσομαι, οἱ τὰ τείχεά τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες δύο. ἡ μὲν πρότερον ἄρξασα, τῆς ὕστερον γενεῇσι πέντε πρότερον γενομένη, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Σεμίραμις, αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χώματα ἀνὰ τὸ πεδῖον ἑόντα ἀξιοθέητα· πρότερον δὲ ἐώθεε ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδῖον πᾶν πελαγίζειν.

185. Ἡ δὲ δὴ δεῦτερον γενομένη ταύτης βασιλεία, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Νίτωκρις, αὕτη δὲ συνετωτέρη γενομένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρχάσης τοῦτο μὲν μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Μήδων ὁρώσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρεμίζουσαν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τε ἀραιρημένα ἄστεα αὐτοῖσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νίνον, προεφυλάξατο ὅσα ἐδύ-



Outside of the temple is a golden altar. There is also another great altar, whereon are sacrificed the full-grown of the flocks; only sucklings may be sacrificed on the golden altar, but on the greater altar the Chaldeans even offer a thousand talents' weight of frankincense yearly, when they keep the festival of this god; and in the days of Cyrus there was still in this sacred demesne a statue of solid gold twelve cubits high. I myself have not seen it, but I tell what is told by the Chaldeans. Darius son of Hystaspes purposed to take this statue but dared not; Xerxes his son took it, and slew the priest who warned him not to move the statue. Such is the adornment of this temple, and there are many private offerings besides.

184. Now among the many rulers of this city of Babylon (of whom I shall make mention in my Assyrian history), who finished the building of the walls and the temples, there were two that were women. The first of these lived five generations earlier than the second, and her name was Semiramis: it was she who built dykes on the plain, a notable work; before that the whole plain was wont to be flooded by the river.

185. The second queen, whose name was Nitocris, was a wiser woman than the first. She left such monuments as I shall record; and moreover, seeing that the rulers of Media were powerful and unresting, insomuch that Ninus itself among other cities had fallen before them, she took such care as she could

νατο μάλιστα. πρῶτα μὲν τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ῥέοντα πρότερον ἰθύν, ὃς σφί διὰ τῆς πόλιος μέσης ῥέει, τοῦτον ἄνωθεν διώρυχας ὀρύξασα οὕτω δὴ τι ἐποίησε σκολιὸν ὥστε δὴ τρεῖς ἐς τῶν τινα κωμέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίῃ ἀπικνέεται ῥέων· τῇ δὲ κώμῃ οὖνομα ἐστί, ἐς τὴν ἀπικνέεται ὁ Εὐφρήτης, Ἀρδέρικκα. καὶ νῦν οἱ ἂν κομίζονται ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, καταπλέοντες τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τρεῖς τε ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην κώμην παραγίνονται καὶ ἐν τρισὶ ἡμέρησι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἐποίησε, χῶμα δὲ παρέχωσε παρ' ἑκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος ἄξιον θώματος μέγαθος καὶ ὕψος ὅσον τι ἐστί. κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῶ Βαβυλῶνος ὥρυσσε ἑλυτρον λίμνη, ὀλίγον τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ὀρύσσουσα, εὖρος δὲ τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιεῦσα εἰκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίων σταδίων· τὸν δὲ ὀρυσσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀναισίμου παρὰ τὰ χεῖλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα. ἐπεῖτε δέ οἱ ὀρώρυκτο, λίθους ἀγαγομένη κρηπίδα κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἤλασε. ἐποίησε δὲ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, τὸν τε ποταμὸν σκολιὸν καὶ τὸ ὀρυγμα πᾶν ἕλος, ὥς ὃ τε ποταμὸς βραδύτερος εἴη περὶ καμπὰς πολλὰς ἀγνύμενος, καὶ οἱ πλόσι ἕωσι σκολιοὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἔκ τε τῶν πλόων ἐκδέκεται περίοδος τῆς λίμνης μακρή. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἐργάζετο τῆς χώρας τῇ αἰ' τε ἐσβολαὶ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων ὁδοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμισγόμενοι οἱ Μῆδοι ἐκμανθάνοιεν αὐτῆς τὰ πρήγματα.

186. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιεβάλετο, τοιήνδε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκην ἐποίησατο. τῆς

for her protection. First she dealt with the river Euphrates, which flows through the middle of her city; this had before been straight; but by digging canals higher up she made the river so crooked that its course now passes thrice by one of the Assyrian villages; the village which is so approached by the Euphrates is called Ardericca. And now those who travel from our seas to Babylon must as they float down the Euphrates spend three days in coming thrice to the same village. Such was this work; and she built an embankment along either shore of the river, marvellous for its greatness and height. Then a long way above Babylon she dug the basin of a lake, a little way aside from the river, digging always deep enough to find water, and making the circuit of the lake a distance of four hundred and twenty furlongs; all that was dug out of the basin she used to embank either edge of the river; and when she had it all dug, she brought stones and made therewith a coping all round the basin. Her purpose in making the river to wind and turning the basin into a marsh was this—that the current might be slower by reason of the many windings that broke its force, and that the passages to Babylon might be crooked, and that next after them should come also the long circuit of the lake. All this work was done in that part of the country where are the passes and the shortest road from Media, that the Medes might not mix with her people and learn of her affairs.

186. So she made the deep river her protection; and from this work grew another which she added to

πόλιος εούσης δύο φαρσέων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον ἔχοντος, ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων ὅπως τις ἐθέλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐτέρου φάρσεος εἰς τοῦτερον διαβῆναι, χρῆν πλοίῳ διαβαίνειν, καὶ ἦν, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ὀχληρὸν τοῦτο. αὕτη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεῖδε. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ὤρυσσε τὸ ἑλυτρον τῇ λίμνῃ, μνημόσυνον τόδε ἄλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλίπετο· ἐτάμνετο λίθους περιμήκειας, ὡς δὲ οἱ ἦσαν οἱ λίθοι ἔτοιμοι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀρώρυκτο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ρέεθρον πᾶν εἰς τὸ ὤρυσσε χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο, ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ ἀρχαίου ρέεθρου τοῦτο μὲν τὰ χεῖλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβάσις τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας ἀνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοισι ὀπτῆσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχει, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέσην· οὐ μάλιστ' αὖ τὴν πόλιν τοῖσι λίθοισι τοὺς ὠρύξατο οἰκοδόμει γέφυραν, δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ μολύβδῳ. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὴν, ὅπως μὲν ἡμέρη γίνοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ' ὧν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῦντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι· τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαιρέεσκον τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοιτέοντες τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ' ἀλλήλων. ὡς δὲ τό τε ὀρυχθὲν λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγόνει ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο, τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν εἰς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ρέεθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξήγαγε, καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὀρυχθὲν ἔλος γενόμενον εἰς δέον ἐδόκει γεγονέναι καὶ τοῖσι πολιῆταισι γέφυρα ἦν κατεσκευασμένη.

187. Ἡ δ' αὐτὴ αὕτη βασιλεία καὶ ἀπάτην τοιγόνδε τινὰ ἐμηχανήσατο· ὑπὲρ τῶν μάλιστ' λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἄστεος τάφον ἐωυτῇ κατε-



it. Her city was divided into two portions by the river which flowed through the centre. Whenever in the days of the former rulers one would pass over from one part to the other, he must cross in a boat; and this, as I suppose, was troublesome. But the queen provided also for this; when the digging of the basin of the lake was done, she made another monument of her reign out of this same work. She had very long blocks of stone hewn; and when these were ready and the place was dug, she turned the course of the river wholly into it, and while it was filling, the former channel being now dry, she bricked with baked bricks, like those of the wall, the borders of the river in the city and the descents from the gates leading down to the river; also about the middle of the city she built a bridge with the stones which had been dug up, binding them together with iron and lead. She laid across it square-hewn logs each morning, whereon the Babylonians crossed; but these logs were taken away for the night, lest folk should be ever crossing over and stealing from each other. Then, when the basin she had made for a lake was filled by the river and the bridge was finished, Nitocris brought the Euphrates back to its former channel out of the lake; thus she had served her purpose, as she thought, by making a swamp of the basin, and her citizens had a bridge ready for them.

187. There was a trick, moreover, which this same queen contrived. She had a tomb made for herself and set high over the very gate of that entrance or

σκευάσατο μετέωρον ἐπιπολῆς αὐτέων τῶν πυλέων, ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. "Τῶν τις ἐμεῦ ὕστερον γινομένων Βαβυλῶνος βασιλέων ἦν σπανίστη χρημάτων, ἀνοίξας τὸν τάφον λαβέτω ὅκῃσα βούλεται χρήματα· μὴ μέντοι γε μὴ σπανίστας ἢ ἄλλως ἀνοίξῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον." οὗτος ὁ τάφος ἦν ἀκίνητος μέχρι οὗ ἐς Δαρείον περιήλθε ἡ βασιλήϊα· Δαρεῖω δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐδόκεε εἶναι τῇσι πύλῃσι ταύτῃσι μηδὲν χρᾶσθαι, καὶ χρημάτων κειμένων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐπικαλεομένων, μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά· τῇσι δὲ πύλῃσι ταύτῃσι οὐδὲν ἐχράτο τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οἱ ἐγίνετο ὁ νεκρὸς διεξελαύνοντι. ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον εὗρε χρήματα μὲν οὐ, τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· "Εἰ μὴ ἄπληστός τε ἕας χρημάτων καὶ αἰσχροκερδής, οὐκ ἂν νεκρῶν θήκας ἀνέωγες." αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ βασιλεία τοιαύτη τις λέγεται γενέσθαι.

188. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα ἐστρατεύετο, ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐωυτοῦ τοῦνομα Λαβυνήτου καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχήν. στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐσκευασμένος ἐξ οἴκου καὶ προβάτοις, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ ἅμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα ῥέοντος, τοῦ μούνου πίνει βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄλλον οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεψήμενου πολλὰ κάρτα ἅμαξαι τετράκυκλοι ἡμίονοι κομιζοῦσαι ἐν ἀγγηίοις ἀργυρέοις ἔπονται, ὅκῃ ἂν ἐλαύνῃ ἐκάστοτε.

189. Ἐπεῖτε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν

the city which was most used, with a writing graven on the tomb, which was this : " If any king of Babylon in future time lack money, let him open this tomb and take whatso money he desires: but let him not open it except he lack; for it will be the worse for him." This tomb remained untouched till the kingdom fell to Darius. He thought it a very strange thing that he should never use this gate, nor take the money when it lay there and the writing itself invited him to the deed. The cause of his not using the gate was that the dead body must be over his head as he passed through. Having opened the tomb, he found there no money, but only the dead body, with this writing: " Wert thou not insatiate of wealth and basely desirous of gain, thou hadst not opened the coffins of the dead." Such a woman, it is recorded, was this queen.

188. Cyrus, then, marched against Nitocris' son, who inherited the name of his father Labynetus and the sovereignty of Assyria. Now when the Great King marches he goes well provided with food and flocks from home; and water from the Choaspes which flows past Susa is carried with him, whereof alone, and of none other, the king drinks. This water of the Choaspes<sup>1</sup> is boiled, and very many four wheeled waggons drawn by mules carry it in silver vessels, following the king whithersoever he goes at any time.

189. When Cyrus on his way to Babylon came

<sup>1</sup> Modern Kerkha.

Βαβυλῶνα ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἰ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι ὄρεσι, ῥεῖ δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τίγρην, ὃ δὲ παρὰ Ὀπιν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο ὁ Κῦρος ἐόντα νηυσιπέρητον, ἐνθαῦτά οἱ τῶν τις ἱρῶν ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο, ὃ δὲ μιν συμψήσας ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο ὑβρίσαντι, καὶ οἱ ἐπηπείλησε οὕτω δὴ μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσειν ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναικᾶς μιν εὐπετέως τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας διαβήσεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπειλὴν μετείς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα στρατεύουσιν διαίρειε τὴν στρατιὴν δίχα, διελὼν δὲ κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξας διώρυχας ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παρ' ἑκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ Γύνδεω τετραμμένας πάντα τρόπον, διατάξας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. οἷα δὲ ὀμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου ἦνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι τὴν θερείην πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διέτριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι.

190. Ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κῦρος ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ ἐξήκοντα διώρυχάς μιν διαλαβών, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω δὴ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ἐκστρατεύσάμενοι ἔμενον αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐλαύνων ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλιος, συνέβαλόν τε οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. οἷα δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἔτι πρότερον τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ἀτρεμίζοντα, ἀλλ' ὀρέοντες αὐτὸν παντὶ ἔθνεϊ ὁμοίως ἐπιχειρέοντα,



to the river Gyndes,<sup>1</sup> which rises in the mountains of the Matieni and flows through the Dardanean country into another river, the Tigris, which again passes the city of Opis and issues into the Red Sea —when Cyrus, I say, essayed to cross the Gyndes, it being there navigable, one of his sacred white horses dashed recklessly into the river that he might win through it, but the stream whelmed him and swept him under and away. At this violent deed of the river Cyrus was very wroth, and he threatened it that he would make it so weak that women should ever after cross it easily without wetting their knees. Having so threatened he ceased from his march against Babylon, and dividing his army into two parts he drew lines planning out a hundred and eighty canals running every way from either bank of the Gyndes; then he arrayed his army along the lines and bade them dig. Since a great multitude was at the work it went with all speed; yet they spent the whole summer there before it was finished.

190. Then at the opening of the second spring, when Cyrus had punished the Gyndes by parting it among the three hundred and sixty canals, he marched at last against Babylon. The Babylonians sallied out and awaited him; and when in his march he came near to their city, they joined battle, but they were worsted and driven within the city. There, because they knew already that Cyrus was no man of peace, and saw that he attacked all nations alike, they had

<sup>1</sup> Modern Diala.

προεσάζαντο σιτία ἐτέων κάρτα πολλῶν. ἐν-  
θαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν λόγον εἶχον τῆς πολιορκίης  
οὐδένα, Κῦρος δὲ ἀπορίησι ἐνείχετο, ἅτε χρόνου  
τε ἐγγινομένου συχνοῦ ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν  
πρηγμάτων προκοπτομένων.

191. Εἴτε δὴ ὦν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοντι ὑπεθήκατο,  
εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἦν, ἐποίησε δὴ  
τοιόνδε. τάξας τὴν στρατιὴν ἅπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς  
τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ  
ὀπισθε αὐτὶς τῆς πόλιος τάξας ἐτέρους, τῇ ἐξιεῖ  
ἐκ τῆς πόλιος ὁ ποταμός, προεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ,  
ὅταν διαβατὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον ἴδωνται γενόμενον,  
ἐσιέναι ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω τε δὴ τάξας  
καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα παραινέσας ἀπήλαυσε αὐτὸς σὺν  
τῷ ἀρχηγῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν  
λίμνην, τά περ ἢ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεία  
ἐποίησε κατὰ τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν  
λίμνην, ἐποίησε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἕτερα τοιαῦτα· τὸν  
γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχι ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην  
εἴουσιν ἔλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον διαβατὸν εἶναι  
ἐποίησε, ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. γενο-  
μένου δὲ τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι οἳ περ  
ἐτετάχατο ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ῥέεθρον τοῦ  
Εὐφρήτου ποταμοῦ ὑπογενοστήκότος ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἐς  
μέσον μῆρὸν μάλιστά κη, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσήμισαν ἐς  
τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. εἰ μὲν νυν προεπύθοντο ἢ  
ἔμαθον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιεύ-  
μενον, οἳ δ' ἂν περιιδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσελθεῖν  
ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφθειραν ἂν κάκιστα· κατακλή-  
σαντες γὰρ ἂν πάσας τὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν πηλίδας  
ἐχούσας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἵμασιās ἀναβάντες  
τὰς παρὰ τὰ χεῖλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένας, ἔλα-

stored provision enough for very many years; so now they cared nothing for the siege; and Cyrus knew not what to do, being so long delayed and gaining no advantage.

191. Whether, then, someone advised him in his difficulty, or he perceived for himself what to do, I know not, but this he did: he posted his army at the place where the river enters the city, and another part of it where the stream issues from the city, and bade his men enter the city by the channel of the Euphrates when they should see it to be fordable. Having so arrayed them and given this command, he himself marched away with those of his army who could not fight; and when he came to the lake, Cyrus dealt with it and with the river just as had the Babylonian queen: drawing off the river by a canal into the lake, which was till now a marsh, he made the stream to sink till its former channel could be forded. When this happened, the Persians who were posted with this intent made their way into Babylon by the channel of the Euphrates, which had now sunk about to the height of the middle of a man's thigh. Now if the Babylonians had known beforehand or learnt what Cyrus was planning, they would have suffered the Persians to enter the city and brought them to a miserable end; for then they would have shut all the gates that opened on the river and themselves mounted up on to the walls that ran along the river

βον ἂν σφέας ὥς ἐν κύρτη. νῦν δὲ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου σφί παρέστησαν οἱ Πέρσαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῆς πόλιος, ὥς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτη οἰκημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλιος ἐαλωκότων τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκέοντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ μαιθάνειν ἐαλωκότας, ἀλλὰ τυχεῖν γάρ σφί εἶναι ὁρτὴν, χορεύειν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι εἶναι, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἐπύθοντο.

192. Καὶ Βαβυλὼν μὲν οὕτω τότε πρῶτον ἀραίρητο. τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι δηλώσω ὅση τις ἐστί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς τροφήν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιῆς διαραίρηται, πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου, γῇ πᾶσα ὅσης ἄρχει δυνώδεκα ὧν μηνῶν ἑόντων ἐς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας τρέφει μιν ἡ Βαβυλωνίη χώρα, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἡ λοιπὴ πᾶσα Ἀσίη. οὕτω τριτημορίη ἡ Ἀσσυρίη χώρα τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίης. καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, τὴν οἱ Πέρσαι σατραπήνην καλέουσι, ἐστὶ ἀπασέων τῶν ἀρχέων πολλόν τι κρατίστη, ὅκου Τριτανταίχμη τῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἐκ βασιλέος ἔχοντι τὸν νομὸν τοῦτον ἀργυρίου μὲν προσήιε ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἀρτάβη μεστή. ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρον ἑὸν Περσικόν, χωρεῖ μεδίμνου Ἀττικοῦ πλέοι χοῖνιξι τρισὶ Ἀττικῇσι. ἵπποι δὲ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ἰδίη, πάρεξ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων, οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς θηλέας ὀκτακόσιοι, αἱ δὲ βαινόμεναι ἑξακισχίλια καὶ μύρια· ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν ἐρσένων τούτων εἴκοσι ἵππους. κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν τοσοῦτο



banks, and so caught their enemies as in a trap. But as it was, the Persians were upon them unawares, and by reason of the great size of the city—so say those who dwell there—those in the outer parts of it were overcome, yet the dwellers in the middle part knew nothing of it; all this time they were dancing and making merry at a festival which chanced to be toward, till they learnt the truth but too well.

192. Thus was Babylon then for the first time taken. There are many proofs of the wealth of Babylon, but this in especial. All the land ruled by the great King is parcelled out for the provisioning of himself and his army, besides that it pays tribute: now the territory of Babylon feeds him for four out of the twelve months in the year, the whole of the rest of Asia providing for the other eight. Thus the wealth of Assyria is one third of the whole wealth of Asia. The governorship, which the Persians call "satrapy," of this land is by far the greatest of all the governorships; seeing that the daily revenue of Tritantæchmes son of Artabazus, governing this province by the king's will, was an artaba full of silver (the artaba is a Persian measure, containing more by three Attic choenixes than an Attic medimnus),<sup>1</sup> and besides war chargers he had in his stables eight hundred stallions, and sixteen thousand brood mares, each stallion serving twenty mares. Moreover he kept so great a number of Indian dogs

<sup>1</sup> The Attic medimnus = about 12 gallons; it contained 48 χοίνικες.

δή τι πλῆθος ἐτρέφετο ὥστε τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κῶμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων εὐῶσαι ἀτελέες, τοῖσι κυσὶ προσετετύχατο σιτία παρέχειν. τοιαῦτα μὲν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ὑπῆρχε ὄντα.

193. Ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ὕεται μὲν ὀλίγη, καὶ τὸ ἐκτρέφον τὴν ρίζαν τοῦ σίτου ἐστὶ τοῦτο· ἀρδόμενον μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀδρύνεται τε τὸ λήιον καὶ παραγίνεται ὁ σῖτος, οὐ κατὰ περ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ τε καὶ κηλωνηίοισι ἀρδόμενος. ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρα πᾶσα, κατὰ περ ἡ Αἰγυπτίη, κατατέμνεται ἐς διώρυχας· καὶ ἡ μεγίστη τῶν διωρύχων ἐστὶ νηysiπέρητος, πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινόν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς ἄλλον ποταμὸν ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω, ἐς τὸν Τίγρην, παρ' ὃν Νίνος πόλις οἰκητο. ἔστι δὲ χωρέων αὕτη πασέων μακρῷ ἀρίστη τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν. . . .<sup>1</sup> τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δένδρεα οὐδὲ πειράται ἀρχὴν φέρειν, οὔτε συκέην οὔτε ἄμπελον οὔτε ἐλαίην. τὸν δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καρπὸν ὧδε ἀγαθὴ ἐκφέρειν ἐστὶ ὥστε ἐπὶ διηκόσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ὑποδιδοῖ, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἄριστα αὕτη ἐωυτῆς ἐνείκη, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια ἐκφέρει. τὰ δὲ φύλλα αὐτόθι τῶν τε πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθέων τὸ πλάτος γίνεται τεσσέρων εὐπετέως δακτύλων. ἐκ δὲ κέγχρου καὶ σησάμου ὅσον τι δένδρον μέγαθος γίνεται, ἐξεπιστάμενος μνήμην οὐ ποιήσομαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῖσι μὴ ἀπιγμένοισι ἐς τὴν Βαβυλωνίην χώραν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα

<sup>1</sup> Stein marks a lacuna after this word, the meaning of τὰ ἄλλα δένδρεα not being quite clear.

## BOOK I. 192-193

that four great villages of the plain were appointed to provide food for the dogs and eased from all other burdens. Such were the riches of the governor of Babylon.

193. There is but little rain in Assyria. It is this which nourishes the roots of the corn; but it is irrigation from the river that ripens the crop and brings the grain to fulness: it is not as in Egypt, where the river itself rises and floods the fields: in Assyria they are watered by hand and by swinging beams.<sup>1</sup> For the whole land of Babylon, like Egypt, is cut across by canals. The greatest of these is navigable: it runs towards where the sun rises in winter, from the Euphrates to another river, the Tigris, by which stood the city of Ninus. This land is of all known to us by far the most fertile in corn. Trees it does not even essay to grow, fig, vine, or olive, but its corn is so abundant that it yields for the most part two hundred fold, and even three hundred fold when the harvest is best. The blades of the wheat and barley there are easily four fingers broad; and for millet and sesame, I will not say, though it is known to me, to what a height they grow; for I am well aware that even what I have said respecting corn is wholly disbelieved by those who have never visited

<sup>1</sup> That is, by the "shadoof," a familiar object to travellers on the Nile; a lever with a bucket attached, revolving on a post.

ἐς ἀπιστίην πολλὴν ἀπίκται. χρέωνται δὲ οὐδὲν ἐλαίῳ ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκ τῶν σησάμων ποιεῦντες. εἰσὶ δὲ σφί φοίνικες πεφυκότες ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδίον, οἱ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι ποιεῦνται· τοὺς συκέων τρόπον θεραπεύουσι τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ φοινίκων τοὺς ἔρσενας Ἕλληνες καλέουσι, τούτων τὸν καρπὸν περιδέουσι τῇσι βαλανηφόροισι τῶν φοινίκων, ἵνα πεπαίνῃ τέ σφι ὁ ψῆν τὴν βάλανον ἐσδύνων καὶ μὴ ἀπορρέῃ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φοίνικος· ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φέρουσι ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες κατὰ περ δὴ οἱ ὀλυνθοι.

194. Τὸ δὲ ἀπάντων θῶμα μέγιστόν μοι ἐστὶ τῶν ταύτῃ μετὰ γε αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἔρχομαι φράσων· τὰ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορευόμενα ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἔοντα κυκλοτερέα, πάντα σκύτινα. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἀρμενίοισι τοῖσι κατύπερθε Ἀσσυρίων οἰκημένοι νομέας ἰτέης ταμόμενοι ποιήσωνται, περιτείνουσι τούτοις διφθέρας στεγαστρίδας ἔξωθεν ἐδάφεος τρόπον, οὔτε πρύμνην ἀποκρίνοντες οὔτε πρῶρην συνάγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀσπίδος τρόπον κυκλοτερέα ποιήσαντες καὶ καλάμης πλήσαντες πᾶν τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἀπιεῖσι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι, φορτίων πλήσαντες· μάλιστα δὲ βίκους φοινικηίους κατάγουσι οἶνον πλέους. ἰθύνεται δὲ ὑπὸ τε δύο πλήκτρων καὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν ὀρθῶν ἐστεώτων, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἔλκει τὸ πλήκτρον ὁ δὲ ἔξω ὠθέει. ποιεῖται δὲ καὶ κάρτα μεγάλα ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐλάσσων· τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάμων γόμον ἔχει. ἐν ἐκάστῳ δὲ πλοίῳ ὄνος ζωὸς ἕνεστι, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι μέζουσι



Babylonia. They use no oil save what they make from sesame.<sup>1</sup> There are palm trees there growing all over the plain, most of them yielding fruit, from which food is made and wine and honey. The Assyrians tend these like figs, and chiefly in this respect, that they tie the fruit of the palm called male by the Greeks to the date-bearing palm, that so the gall-fly may enter the dates and cause them to ripen, and that the fruit of the palm may not fall; for the male palms, like unripened figs, have gall-flies in their fruit.

194. I will now show what seems to me to be the most marvellous thing in the country, next to the city itself. Their boats which ply on the river and go to Babylon are all of skins, and round. They make these in Armenia, higher up the stream than Assyria. First they cut frames of willow, then they stretch hides over these for a covering, making as it were a hold; they neither broaden the stern nor narrow the prow, but the boat is round, like a shield. They then fill it with reeds and send it floating down the river with a cargo; and it is for the most part palm wood casks of wine that they carry down. Two men standing upright steer the boat, each with a paddle, one drawing it to him, the other thrusting it from him. These boats are of all sizes, some small, some very great; the greatest of them are even of five thousand talents<sup>2</sup> burden. There is a live ass in each boat, or

<sup>1</sup> Sesame-oil or "Benre-oil" is still in common use in the East.

<sup>2</sup> The Attic talent = about 58 lbs. avoirdupois; the Aeginetan = about 82.

πλεῖνες. ἐπεὰν ὧν ἀπίκωνται πλείοντες ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομέας μὲν τοῦ πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλάμην πᾶσαν ἀπ' ὧν ἐκήρυξαν, τὰς δὲ διφθέρας ἐπισάξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους. ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οἶά τε ἐστὶ πλέειν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐκ ξύλων ποιεῦνται τὰ πλοῖα ἀλλ' ἐκ διφθερέων. ἐπεὰν δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἐλαύνοντες ἀπίκωνται ὀπίσω ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, ἄλλα τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιεῦνται πλοῖα.

195. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα· ἐσθῆτι δὲ τοιῇδε χρέωνται, κιθῶνι ποδηνεκεί λινέῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἄλλον εἰρίνεον κιθῶνα ἐπενδύει καὶ χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος, ὑποδήματα ἔχων ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῇσι Βοιωτῆσι ἐμβάσι. κομώντες δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς μίτρῃσι ἀναδέονται, μεμυρισμένοι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα. σφρηγίδα δὲ ἕκαστος ἔχει καὶ σκῆπτρον χειροποίητον· ἐπ' ἐκάστῳ δὲ σκῆπτρῳ ἔπεστι πεποιημένον ἢ μῆλον ἢ ῥόδον ἢ κρίνον ἢ αἰετὸς ἢ ἄλλο τι· ἄνευ γὰρ ἐπισήμου οὐ σφί νόμος ἐστὶ ἔχειν σκῆπτρον.

196. Αὕτη μὲν δὴ σφί ἄρτισις περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐστὶ· νόμοι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὅδε κατεστᾶσι, ὁ μὲν σοφώτατος ὅδε κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέρην, τῷ καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν Ἐρετοῦς πυνθάνομαι χρᾶσθαι. κατὰ κώμας ἐκάστας ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἐποιέετο τάδε· ὥς ἂν αἱ παρθένοι γενοίαιτο γάμων ὠραῖαι, ταύτας ὅκως συναγάγοιεν πάσας, ἐς ἓν χωρίον ἐσάγεσκον ἀλέας, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὰς ἴστατο ὄμιλος ἀνδρῶν, ἀνιστὰς δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην

more than one in the larger. So when they have floated down to Babylon and disposed of their cargo, they sell the framework of the boat and all the reeds; the hides are set on the backs of asses, which are then driven back to Armenia, for it is not by any means possible to go up stream by water, by reason of the swiftness of the current; it is for this reason that they make their boats of hides and not of wood. When they have driven their asses back into Armenia they make more boats in the same way.

195. Such then are their boats. For clothing, they wear a linen tunic, reaching to the feet; over this the Babylonian puts on another tunic, of wool, and wraps himself in a white mantle; he wears the shoes of his country, which are like Boeotian sandals. Their hair is worn long, and covered by caps; the whole body is perfumed. Every man has a seal and a carven staff, and on every staff is some image, such as that of an apple or a rose or a lily or an eagle: no one carries a staff without a device.

196. Such is the equipment of their persons. I will now speak of their established customs. The wisest of these, in my judgment, is one which as I have heard is also a custom of the Eneti in Illyria. It is this: once a year in every village all the maidens as they came to marriageable age were collected and brought together into one place, with a crowd of men standing round. Then a crier would display and offer them for sale one by one, first

κῆρυξ πωλέεσκε, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν εὐειδεστάτην ἐκ πασέων· μετὰ δέ, ὅπως αὕτη εὐροῦσα πολλὸν χρυσίον πρηθείη, ἄλλην ἂν ἐκήρυσσε ἢ μετ' ἐκείνην ἔσκε εὐειδεστάτη· ἐπωλέοντο δὲ ἐπὶ συνοικήσι. ὅσοι μὲν δὴ ἔσκον εὐδαίμονες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπίγαμοι, ὑπερβάλλοντες ἀλλήλους ἐξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστενούσας· ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ δήμου ἔσκον ἐπίγαμοι, οὗτοι δὲ εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο χρηστοῦ, οἱ δ' ἂν χρήματά τε καὶ αἰσχίονας παρθένους ἐλάμβανον. ὥς γὰρ δὴ διεξέλθοι ὁ κῆρυξ πωλέων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν παρθένων, ἀνίστη ἂν τὴν ἀμορφεστάτην, ἢ εἰ τις αὐτέων ἔμπηρος εἴη, καὶ ταύτην ἂν ἐκήρυσσε, ὅστις θέλοι ἐλάχιστον χρυσίον λαβὼν συνοικέειν αὐτῇ, ἐς ὃ τῷ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑπισταμένῳ προσέκειτο. τὸ δὲ ἂν χρυσίον ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐειδέων παρθένων καὶ οὕτω αἱ εὐμορφοὶ τὰς ἀμόρφους καὶ ἔμπηρους ἐξεδίδοσαν. ἐκδούναι δὲ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα ὅτε βούλοιο ἕκαστος οὐκ ἐξῆν, οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγγυητέω ἀπάγεσθαι τὴν παρθένον πριάμενον, ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς χρὴν καταστήσαντα ἢ μὲν συνοικήσειν αὐτῇ, οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ συμφεροίατο, ἀποφέρειν τὸ χρυσίον ἔκειτο νόμος. ἐξῆν δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλης ἐλθόντα κώμης τὸν βουλόμενον ὠνεῖσθαι. ὁ μὲν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος οὗτός σφι ἦν, οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε διατελέει ἐών, ἄλλο δέ τι ἐξευρήκασιν νεωστὶ γενέσθαι [ἵνα μὴ ἀδικοῖεν αὐτὰς μὴδ' εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἄγωνται].<sup>1</sup> ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἀλόντες ἐκακώθησαν καὶ οἰκοφθορήθησαν, πᾶς τις τοῦ δήμου βίου σπανίζων καταπορνεύει τὰ θήλεα τέκνα.

<sup>1</sup> The words in brackets do not seem to be relevant here; they might more naturally come after οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι above.



the fairest of all; and then when she had fetched a great price he put up for sale the next comeliest, selling all the maidens as lawful wives. Rich men of Assyria who desired to marry would outbid each other for the fairest; the commonalty, who desired to marry and cared nothing for beauty, could take the ill-favoured damsels and money therewith; for when the crier had sold all the comeliest, he would put up her that was least beautiful, or crippled, and offer her to whosoever would take her to wife for the least sum, till she fell to him who promised to accept least; the money came from the sale of the comely damsels, and so they paid the dowry of the ill-favoured and the cripples. But a man might not give his daughter in marriage to whomsoever he would, nor might he that bought the girl take her away without giving security that he would indeed make her his wife. And if the two could not agree, it was a law that the money be returned. Men might also come from other villages to buy if they so desired. This then was their best custom; but it does not continue at this time; they have invented a new one lately [that the woman might not be wronged or taken to another city]; since the conquest of Babylon made them afflicted and poor, everyone of the commonalty that lacks a livelihood makes prostitutes of his daughters.

197. Δεύτερος δὲ σοφίῃ ὅδε ἄλλος σφί νόμος κατέστηκε· τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέουσι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρέωνται ἰητροῖσι. προσιόντες ὦν πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα συμβουλευούσι περὶ τῆς νοῦσου, εἴ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτο ἔπαθε ὁκοῖον ἂν ἔχῃ ὁ κάμνων ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε παθόντα, ταῦτα προσιόντες συμβουλευούσι καὶ παραινέουσι ἅσσα αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἐξέφυγε ὁμοίην νοῦσον ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε ἐκφυγόντα. σιγῇ δὲ παρεξελθεῖν τὸν κάμνοντα οὐ σφί ἔξεστι, πρὶν ἂν ἐπείρῃται ἥντινα νοῦσον ἔχει.

198. Ταφαὶ δὲ σφί ἐν μέλιτι, θρήνοι δὲ πληῖστοι τοῖσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ὁσάκις δ' ἂν μιχθῇ γυναικὶ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, περὶ θυμῆμα καταγιζόμενον ἵζει, ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τὸν τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ὀρθρου δὲ γενομένου λούνται καὶ ἀμφοτέροι· ἄγχεος γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄψονται πρὶν ἂν λουσῶνται. ταῦτ' αὖτε καὶ Ἀράβιοι ποιεῦσι.

199. <sup>1</sup> Ὁ δὲ δὴ αἰσχιστος τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ὅδε· δεῖ πᾶσαν γυναῖκα ἐπιχωρίην ἰζομένην ἐς ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἅπαξ ἐν τῇ ζῳῃ μιχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ ξείνῳ. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀξιέμεναι ἀναμίσγεσθαι τῇσι ἄλλῃσι, οἷα πλούτῳ ὑπερφρονέουσai, ἐπὶ ζευγέων ἐν καμάρῃσι ἐλάσασαι πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν ἐστᾶσι· θεραπήνῃ δὲ σφί ὀπισθε ἔπεται πολλή. αἱ δὲ πλεῦνες ποιεῦσι ὧδε· ἐν τεμένει Ἀφροδίτης κατέαται στέφανον περὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἔχουσai θώμιγγος πολλὰ γυναῖκες· αἱ μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ἀπέρχονται.

<sup>1</sup> Three fifteenth century MSS. omit the whole of this chapter.

BOOK I. 197-199

197. I come now to the next wisest of their customs : having no use for physicians, they carry the sick into the market-place ; then those who have been afflicted themselves by the same ill as the sick man's, or seen others in like case, come near and advise him about his disease and comfort him, telling him by what means they have themselves recovered of it or seen others so recover. None may pass by the sick man without speaking and asking what is his sickness.

198. The dead are embalmed in honey for burial, and their dirges are like to the dirges of Egypt. Whenever a Babylonian has had intercourse with his wife, they both sit before a burnt offering of incense, and at dawn they wash themselves ; they will touch no vessel before this is done. This is the custom also in Arabia.

199. The foulest Babylonian custom is that which compels every woman of the land once in her life to sit in the temple of Aphrodite and have intercourse with some stranger. Many women who are rich and proud and disdain to consort with the rest, drive to the temple in covered carriages drawn by teams, and there stand with a great retinue of attendants. But most sit down in the sacred plot of Aphrodite, with crowns of cord on their heads ; there is a great multitude of women coming and going ; passages marked by line run every way through the crowd, by which the stranger men pass and make their choice.

σχοινοτενέες δὲ διέξοδοι πάντα τρόπον ὁδῶν ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, δι' ὧν οἱ ξεῖνοι διεξιόντες ἐκλέγονται· ἔνθα ἐπεὰν ἴζηται γυνή, οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἢ τίς οἱ ξείνων ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ γούνατα μιχθῇ ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ· ἐμβαλόντα δὲ δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοσόνδε· "Ἐπικαλέω τοι τὴν θεὸν Μύλιττα." Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Ἀσσύριοι. τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον μέγαθος ἐστὶ ὅσον ὦν· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἀπώσεται· οὐ γάρ οἱ θέμις ἐστὶ· γίνεται γὰρ ἱερὸν τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον. τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐμβαλόντι ἔπεται οὐδὲ ἀποδοκιμᾶ οὐδένα. ἐπεὰν δὲ μιχθῇ, ἀποσιωσάμενη τῇ θεῷ ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, καὶ τὼπὸ τούτου οὐκ οὕτω μέγα τί οἱ δώσεις ὥς μιν λάμψαι. ὅσαι μὲν νυν εἰδεός τε ἐπαμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ μεγάθεος, ταχὺ ἀπαλλάσσονται, ὅσαι δὲ ἄμορφοι αὐτέων εἰσὶ, χρόνον πολλὸν προσμένουσι οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλήσαι· καὶ γὰρ τριέτεα καὶ τετραέτεα μετεξέτεραι χρόνον μένουσι. ἐνιαχῇ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος τούτῳ νόμος.

200. Νόμοι μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι οὗτοι κατεστᾶσι· εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πατριαὶ τρεῖς αἱ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτέονται εἰ μὴ ἰχθὺς μούνον, τοὺς ἐπείτε ἂν θηρεύσαντες αὐήνωσι πρὸς ἥλιον, ποιεῦσι τάδε ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς ὄλμον καὶ λεήναντες ὑπέροισι σώσι διὰ σινδόνης, καὶ ὃς μὲν ἂν βούληται αὐτῶν ἅτε μᾶζαν μαζάμενος ἔχει, ὃ δὲ ἄρτου τρόπον ὀπτήσας.

201. Ὡς δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος κατέργαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μασσαγέτας ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο καὶ μέγα λέγεται



When a woman has once taken her place there she goes not away to her home before some stranger has cast money into her lap and had intercourse with her outside the temple; but while he casts the money, he must say, "I demand thee in the name of Mylitta" (that is the Assyrian name for Aphrodite). It matters not what be the sum of the money; the woman will never refuse, for that were a sin, the money being by this act made sacred. So she follows the first man who casts it and rejects none. After their intercourse she has made herself holy in the goddess's sight and goes away to her home; and thereafter there is no bribe however great that will get her. So then the women that are fair and tall are soon free to depart, but the uncomely have long to wait because they cannot fulfil the law; for some of them remain for three years, or four. There is a custom like to this in some parts of Cyprus.

200. These are established customs among the Babylonians. Moreover, there are in the country three tribes that eat nothing but fish, which they catch and dry in the sun; then after casting them into a mortar they bray them with pestles and strain all through linen. Then whoever so desires kneads as it were a cake of it and eats it; others bake it like bread.

201. When Cyrus had conquered this nation also, he desired to subdue the Massagetæ. These are

εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολάς, πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ, ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵτινες καὶ Σκυθικὸν λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι.

202. Ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ· νήσους δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Λέσβῳ μεγάθρα παραπλησίας συχνὰς φασὶ εἶναι, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι ἀνθρώπους οἱ σιτέονται μὲν ῥίζας τὸ θέρος ὀρύσσοντες παντοίας· καρποὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δένδρεων ἐξευρημένους σφί ἐς φορβὴν κατατίθεσθαι ὠραίους, καὶ τούτους σιτέεσθαι τὴν χειμερινήν. ἄλλα δὲ σφί ἐξευρησθαι δένδρεα καρποὺς τοιούσδε τινὰς φέροντα, τοὺς ἐπεῖτε ἂν ἐς τὸντὸ συνέλθωσι κατὰ εἶλας καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσωνται κύκλῳ περιιζομένους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, ὁσφραινομένους δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὁδμῇ κατὰ περ Ἑλλήνας τῷ οἴνῳ, πλεῦνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐς ὃ ἐς ὄρχησίν τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἐς αἰοδὴν ἀπικνέεσθαι. τούτων μὲν αὕτη λέγεται δίαίτα εἶναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Ματιηνῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ Γύνδης τὸν ἐς τὰς διώρυχας τὰς ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας διέλαβε ὁ Κῦρος, στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύγεται τεσσεράκοντα, τῶν τὰ πάντα πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐς ἑλεά τε καὶ τενάγρεα ἐκδιδοῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἀνθρώπους κατοικῆσθαι λέγουσι ἰχθῦς ὠμούς σιτεομένους, ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομίζοντας χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δέρμασι. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Ἀράξεω ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Κασπίην θάλασσαν.

203. Ἡ δὲ Κασπίη θάλασσα ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἐωντῆς, οὐ συμμίσχουσα τῇ ἑτέρῃ θαλάσσῃ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ

said to be a great people and a mighty, dwelling towards the east and the sunrise, beyond the Araxes and over against the Issedones; and some say that they are a Scythian people.

202. The Araxes is by some said to be greater and by some less than the Ister. It is reported that there are many islands in it as big as Lesbos, and men thereon who in summer live on roots of all kinds that they dig up, and in winter on fruit that they get from trees and store when it is ripe for food; and they know (it is said) of trees which have a fruit whereof this is the effect: assembling in companies and kindling a fire, the people sit round it and throw the fruit into the flames, then the smell of it as it burns makes them drunk as the Greeks are with wine, and more and more drunk as more fruit is thrown on the fire, till at last they rise up to dance and even sing. Such is said to be their way of life. The Araxes<sup>1</sup> flows from the country of the Matieni—as does the Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into the three hundred and sixty channels—and empties itself through forty mouths, whereof all except one issue into bogs and swamps, where men are said to live whose food is raw fish, and their customary dress sealskins. The one remaining stream of the Araxes flows in a clear channel into the Caspian sea.

203. This is a sea by itself, not joined to the other sea. For that whereon the Greeks sail, and the sea

<sup>1</sup> The Araxes of this chapter appears to be, from the description of its course, the modern Aras. But the Araxes of ch. 205, separating Cyrus' kingdom from the Massagetae, must be either the Oxus (Jihon) or Jaxartes (Sihon), both of which now flow into the Aral Sea. For a full discussion of the question the reader is referred to Essay IX. in the Appendix to Book I. of Rawlinson's Herodotus.

"Ελληνες ναυτίλλονται πᾶσα καὶ ἡ ἔξω στηλέων θάλασσα ἡ Ἀτλαντὶς καλεομένη καὶ ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ μία εὐρύσα τυγχάνει· ἡ δὲ Κασπίη ἐστὶ ἐτέρη ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς, εὐρύσα μῆκος μὲν πλόου εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερέων, εὖρος δέ, τῇ εὐρυτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὐτῇ ἐωυτῆς, ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος παρατείνει, ἔον ὁρέων καὶ πλήθει μέγιστον καὶ μεγάλῃ ὑψηλότατον. ἔθνεα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐν ἐωυτῷ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ὕλης ἀγρίης ζῶοντα· ἐν τοῖσι καὶ δένδρεα φύλλα τοιῆσδε ἰδέης παρεχόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβοντάς τε καὶ παραμίσγοντας ὕδωρ ζῶα ἐωυτοῖσι ἐς τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐγγράφειν· τὰ δὲ ζῶα οὐκ ἐκπλύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκαταγηράσκειν τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰρίῳ κατὰ περ ἐνυφανθέντα ἀρχήν. μῖξιν δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ἐμφανέα κατὰ περ τοῖσι προβάτοισι.

204. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς Κασπίης καλεομένης ὁ Καύκασος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἡῷ τε καὶ ἡλίῳ ἀνατέλλοντα πεδῖον ἐκδέκεται πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἐς ἄποψιν. τοῦ ὧν δὴ πεδίου τούτου τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν μετέχουσι οἱ Μασσαγέται, ἐπ' οὓς ὁ Κῦρος ἔσχε προθυμίην στρατεύσασθαι. πολλὰ τε γάρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα ἦν, πρῶτον μὲν ἡ γένεσις, τὸ δοκέειν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου, δευτέρα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη ἡ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενομένη· ὅκη γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι Κῦρος, ἀμήχανον ἦν ἐκείνο τὸ ἔθνος διαφυγεῖν.

205. Ἦν δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος γυνὴ τῶν



beyond the pillars of Heracles, which they call Atlantic, and the Red Sea, are all one: but the Caspian is separate and by itself. Its length is what a ship rowed by oars can traverse in fifteen days, and its breadth, where it is broadest, is an eight days' journey. Along its western shore stretches the range of Caucasus, which has more and higher mountains than any other range. Many and all manner of nations dwell in the Caucasus, and the most of them live on the fruits of the wild wood. Here, it is said, are trees growing leaves that men crush and mix with water and use for the painting of figures on their clothing; these figures cannot be washed out, but last as long as the wool, as if they had been woven into it from the first. Men and women here (they say) have intercourse openly, like beasts of the flock.

204. This sea called Caspian is hemmed in to the west by the Caucasus: towards the east and the sunrise there stretches from its shores a boundless plain as far as sight can reach. The greater part of this wide plain is the country of the Massagetae, against whom Cyrus was eager to lead his army. For there were many reasons of weight that heartened and encouraged him so to do: first, his birth, whereby he seemed to be something more than mortal man, and next, his victories in his wars; for no nation that Cyrus undertook to attack could escape from him.

205. Now at this time the Massagetae were ruled

## HERODOTUS

Μασσαγετέων βασιλεία· Τόμυρις οἱ ἦν οὖνομα. ταύτην πέμπων ὁ Κῦρος ἐμῶτο τῇ λόγῳ θέλων γυναῖκα ἦν ἔχειν. ἡ δὲ Τόμυρις συνιῖσα οὐκ αὐτὴν μιν μνῶμενον ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασσαγετέων βασιλῆην, ἀπείπατο τὴν πρόσοδον. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς οἱ δόλῳ οὐ προεχώρει, ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα ἐποιέετο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας στρατῆην, γεφύρας τε ζευγνύνων ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίων τῶν διαπορθμεύοντων τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκοδομεύμενος.

206. Ἐχοντι δὲ οἱ τοῦτον τὸν πόνον πέμψασα ἡ Τόμυρις κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε. "ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδείης εἴ τοι ἐς καιρὸν ἔσται ταῦτα τελεόμενα· πανσάμενος δὲ βασίλευε τῶν σεωυτοῦ, καὶ ἡμέας ἀνέχευ ὀρέων ἄρχοντας τῶν περ ἄρχομεν. οὐκων ἐθελήσεις ὑποθήκησι τῆσιδε χρᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ πάντως μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἡσυχίης εἶναι· σὺ δὲ εἰ μεγάλως προθυμέαι Μασσαγετέων πειρηθῆναι, φέρε μόχθον μὲν τὸν ἔχεις ζευγνύς τὸν ποταμὸν ἅπες, σὺ δὲ ἡμέων ἀναχωρησάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδὸν διάβαινε ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν· εἰ δ' ἡμέας βούλει εἰσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν, σὺ τῶντὸ τοῦτο ποίει." ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος συνεκάλεσε Περσέων τοὺς πρῶτους, συναγείρας δὲ τούτους ἐς μέσον σφί προετίθει τὸ πρήγμα, συμβουλευόμενος ὁκότερα ποιέη. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τῶντὸ αἰ γνῶμαι συνεξέπιπτον κελευόντων εἰσδέκεσθαι Τόμυριν τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν χώραν.

by a queen, called Tomyris, whose husband was dead. Cyrus sent a message with a pretence of wooing her for his wife, but Tomyris would have none of this advance, well understanding that he wooed not her but the kingdom of the Massagetæ. So when guile availed him nothing Cyrus marched to the Araxes and openly prepared to attack the Massagetæ; he bridged the river that his army might cross, and built towers on the pontoons that should carry his men over.

206. But while he was at this work Tomyris sent a herald to him with this message: "Cease, king of the Medes, from that on which you are intent; for you cannot know if the completion of this work will be for your advantage. Cease, and be king of your own country; and be patient to see us ruling those whom we rule. But if you will not take this counsel, and will do all rather than remain at peace, then if you so greatly desire to essay the strength of the Massagetæ, do you quit your present labour of bridging the river, and suffer us to draw off three days' journey from the Araxes; and when that is done, cross into our country. Or if you desire rather to receive us into your country, do you then yourself withdraw as I have said." Hearing this, Cyrus assembled the chief among the Persians and laid the matter before them, asking them to advise him which he should do. They all spoke to the same purpose, urging him to suffer Tomyris and her army to enter his country.

## HERODOTUS

207. Παρεὼν δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τὴν γνώμην ταύτην Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐναντίην τῇ προκειμένη γνώμῃ, λέγων τάδε. "ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἶπον μὲν καὶ πρότερόν τοι ὅτι ἐπεὶ με Ζεὺς ἔδωκέ τοι, τὸ ἂν ὁρῶ σφάλμα ἐὼν οἴκῳ τῷ σῷ, κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν τὰ δὲ μοι παθήματα ἐόντα ἀχάρिता μαθήματα γέγονε. εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος δοκέεις εἶναι καὶ στρατιῆς τοιαύτης ἄρχειν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πρήγμα γνώμας ἐμὲ σοὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι· εἰ δ' ἔγνωκας ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὺ εἰς καὶ ἐτέρων τοιῶνδε ἄρχεις, ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον μάθε, ὡς κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐστὶ πρηγμάτων, περιφερόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἔῃ αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτυχεῖν. ἤδη ὦν ἔχω γνώμην περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου πρήγματος τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ οὗτοι. εἰ γὰρ ἐβελήσομεν ἐσδέξασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὴν χώραν, ὅδε τοι ἐν αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἐνι· ἐσσωθεῖς μὲν προσαπολλύεις πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχήν. δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι νικῶντες Μασσαγέται οὐ τὸ ὀπίσω φεύγονται ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀρχὰς τὰς σὰς ἐλῶσι. νικῶν δὲ οὐ νικᾷς τοσούτον ὅσον εἰ διαβὰς ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων, νικῶν Μασσαγέτας, ἔποιο φεύγουσι. τὠντὸ γὰρ ἀντιθήσω ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ἐλᾷς ἰθὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Τομύριος. χωρὶς τε τοῦ ἀπηγημένου αἰσχροῦ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν Κῦρόν γε τὸν Καμβύσειω γυναικὶ εἵξαντα ὑποχωρῆσαι τῆς χώρας· νῦν ὦν μοι δοκέει διαβάντας προελθεῖν ὅσον ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπεξίωσι, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τάδε ποιεῦντας πειρᾶσθαι ἐκείνων περιγενέσθαι. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Μασσαγέται εἰσὶ ἀγαθῶν τε Περσικῶν ἄπειροι καὶ καλῶν μεγάλων ἀπαθείες. τούτοισι



207. But Croesus the Lydian, who was present, was displeased by their counsel and spoke against it. "Sire," said he, "you have ere now heard from me that since Zeus has given me to you I will to the best of my power turn aside whatever mischance I see threatening your house. And disaster has been my teacher. Now if you deem yourself and the army that you lead to be immortal, it is not for me to give you advice; but if you know that you and those whom you rule are but men, then I must first teach you this; men's fortunes are on a wheel, which in its turning suffers not the same man to prosper for ever. Then, if that be true, I am not of the same mind on the business in hand as these your other counsellors. This is the danger if we agree to suffer the enemy to enter your country: if you lose the battle you lose your empire also, for it is plain that if the Massagetæ win they will not retreat back but will march against your provinces. And if you conquer them it is a lesser victory than if you crossed into their country and routed the Massagetæ and pursued them; for I balance your chances against theirs, and suppose that when you have worsted your adversaries you will march for the seat of Tomyris' power. And besides what I have shown, it were a thing shameful and not to be borne that Cyrus the son of Cambyses should yield and give ground before a woman. Now therefore it is in my mind that we should cross and go forward as far as they go back, and that then we should endeavour to overcome them by doing as I shall show. As I learn, the Massagetæ have no experience of the good things of Persia, nor have they ever fared well in respect of what is greatly desirable. For these men, therefore,

ὧν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι τῶν προβάτων ἀφειδέως πολλὰ κατακόψαντας καὶ σκευάσαντας προθεῖναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαῖτα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κρητῆρας ἀφειδέως οἶνου ἀκρήτου καὶ σιτία παντοῖα ποιήσαντας δὲ ταῦτα, ὑπολιπομένους τῆς στρατιῆς τὸ φλαυρότατον, τοὺς λοιποὺς αὐτῆς ἐξαναχωρέειν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης μὴ ἀμάρτω, κείνοι ἰδόμενοι ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ τρέφονται τε πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν λείπεται ἀπὸδεξις ἔργων μεγάλων."

208. Γνώμαι μὲν αὐται συνέστασαν. Κῦρος δὲ μετεῖς τὴν προτέρην γνώμην, τὴν Κροίσου δὲ ἐλόμενος, προηγόρευε Τομύρι ἐξαναχωρέειν ὡς αὐτοῦ διαβησομένου ἐπ' ἐκείνην. ἡ μὲν δὲ ἐξανέχωρεε κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα. Κῦρος δὲ Κροίσου ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἐσθεῖς τῷ ἐωυτοῦ παιδί Καμβύσῃ, τῷ περ τὴν βασιληίην ἐδίδου, καὶ πολλὰ ἐτείλαμενός οἱ τιμᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν, ἦν ἡ διάβασις ἢ ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας μὴ ὀρθωθῇ, ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος καὶ ἀποστείλας τούτους ἐς Πέρσας, αὐτὸς διέβαινε τὸν ποταμόν καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ.

209. Ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν Ἀράξεα, νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης εἶδε ὄψιν εὐδῶν ἐν τῶν Μασσαγετέων τῇ χώρῃ τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Κῦρος ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ὁρᾶν τῶν Ὑσταάσπεος παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. Ὑσταάσπεϊ δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος ἐόντι ἀνδρὶ Ἀχαιμενίδῃ ἦν τῶν παίδων Δαρεῖος πρεσβύτατος, ἐὼν τότε ἡλικίην ἐς εἴκοσί κεν μάλιστα ἔτεα, καὶ οὗτος κατελέλειπτο ἐν Πέρσῃσι· οὐ γὰρ εἶχε κω ἡλικίην στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπεὶ ὧν δὲ ἐξηγέρθη ὁ Κῦρος,

I counsel you to cut up the flesh of many of your sheep and goats into portions unstintingly, and to cook it and serve it as a feast in our camp, providing many bowls of unmixed wine withal and all manner of food. Then let your army withdraw to the river again, leaving behind that part of it which is of least account. For if I err not in my judgment, when the Massagetæ see so many good things they will betake them to feasting thereon; and it will be for us then to achieve mighty deeds."

208. So these opinions contended; and Cyrus set aside his former plan and chose that of Croesus; wherefore he bade Tomyris draw her army off, for he would cross (he said) and attack her; so she withdrew as she had promised before. Then he gave Croesus to the care of his own son Cambyses, to whom he purposed to leave his sovereignty, charging Cambyses to honour Croesus and entreat him well, if the crossing of the river against the Massagetæ should not prosper. With this charge he sent the two back to Persia, and crossed the river, he and his army.

209. Then, being now across the Araxes, he dreamt at night while sleeping in the country of the Massagetæ, that he saw the eldest of the sons of Hystaspes wearing wings on his shoulders, the one wing overshadowing Asia and the other Europe. (Hystaspes son of Arsames was an Achaemenid, and Darius was the eldest of his sons, being then about twenty years old; this Darius had been left behind in Persia, being not yet of an age to follow the army.) So when

ἐδίδου λόγον ἑωυτῷ περὶ τῆς ὄψιος. ὥς δέ οἱ ἐδόκεε μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὄψις, καλέσας Ἵστασπεα καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μαῦνον εἶπε “Ἵστασπες, παῖς σὸς ἐπιβουλεύων ἐμοί τε καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ ἐάλωκε. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀτρεκέως οἶδα, ἐγὼ σημανέω· ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κηδονται καὶ μοι πάντα προδεικνύουσι τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα. ἤδη ὦν ἐν τῇ παροιχομένη νυκτὶ εὐδων εἶδον τῶν σῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. οὐκ ἔστι μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία τὸ μὴ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί· σύ νυν τὴν ταχίστην πορεύεο ὀπίσω ἐς Πέρσας καὶ ποίεε ὅκως, ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεφάμενος ἔλθω ἐκεῖ, ὥς μοι καταστήσεις τὸν παῖδα ἐς ἔλεγχον.”

210. Κῦρος μὲν δοκέων οἱ Δαρεῖον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἔλεγε τάδε· τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε ὥς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτήσειν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ μέλλοι, ἡ δὲ βασιληὴ αὐτοῦ περιχωρέοι ἐς Δαρεῖον. ἀμείβεται δὴ ὦν ὁ Ἵστασπης τοῖσιδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ εἴη ἀνὴρ Πέρσης γεγωνῶς ὅστις τοι ἐπιβουλεύσειε, εἰ δ' ἔστι, ἀπόλοιτο ὥς τάχιστα· ὅς ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων ἄρχειν ἀπάντων. εἰ δέ τίς τοι ὄψις ἀπαγγέλλει παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν νεώτερα βουλεύειν περὶ σέο, ἐγὼ τοι παραδίδωμι χρᾶσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦτο ὃ τι σὺ βούλει.”

211. Ἵστασπης μὲν τούτοις ἀμειψάμενος καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράξωα ἦε ἐς Πέρσας φυλάξαι Κῦρον τὸν παῖδα Δαρεῖον, Κῦρος δὲ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀράξωα ἡμέρης ὁδὸν ἐποίησε κατὰ τὰς Κροίσου ὑποθήκας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κύρου τε



Cyrus awoke he considered his vision, and because it seemed to him to be of great import, he sent for Hystaspes and said to him privately, "I find, Hystaspes, that your son is guilty of plotting against me and my sovereignty; and I will tell you how I know this for a certainty. I am a man for whom the gods take thought, and show me beforehand all that is coming. Now this being so, I have seen in a dream in the past night your eldest son with wings on his shoulders, overshadowing Asia with the one and Europe with the other; wherefore it is from this vision most certain that he is plotting against me. Do you therefore go with all speed back to Persia, and so act that when I come thither after subduing this country you shall bring your son before me to be questioned of this."

210. So spoke Cyrus, thinking that Darius was plotting against him; but in truth heaven was showing him that he himself was to die in the land where he was, and Darius to inherit his kingdom. So then Hystaspes answered him thus:—"Sire, the gods forbid that any Persian born should plot against you! but if such there be, may he speedily perish; for you have made the Persians freemen instead of slaves and rulers of all instead of subjects. But if your vision does indeed tell that my son is planning aught to your hurt, take him; he is yours to use as pleases you."

211. Having so answered, Hystaspes returned across the Araxes to Persia to watch Darius for Cyrus; and Cyrus, going forward a day's journey from the Araxes, did according to Croesus' advice. After this Cyrus and the sound part of the Persian

καὶ Περσέων τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ ἀπελάσαντος ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα, λειφθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀχρηίου, ἐπελθούσα τῶν Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίς τοῦ στρατοῦ τοὺς τε λειφθέντας τῆς Κύρου στρατιῆς ἐφόνευε ἀλεξομένους καὶ τὴν προκειμένην ἰδόντες δαῖτα, ὡς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους, κλιθέντες ἐδαίνυντο, πληρωθέντες δὲ φορβῆς καὶ οἴνου ἡῦδον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μὲν σφέων ἐφόνευσαν, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας ἐζώγρησαν καὶ ἄλλους καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖδα στρατηγέοντα Μασσαγετέων, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σπαργαπίσης.

212. Ἡ δὲ πυθομένη τά τε περὶ τὴν στρατιὴν γεγονότα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν παῖδα, πέμπουσα κήρυκα παρὰ Κύρον ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἀπληστε αἵματος Κύρε, μηδὲν ἐπαερθῆς τῷ γεγονότι τῷδε πρήγματι, εἰ ἄμπελίνῳ καρπῷ, τῷ περ αὐτοὶ ἐμπιπλάμενοι μαίνεσθῃ οὕτω ὥστε κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπαναπλέειν ὑμῖν ἔπεα κακά, τοιούτῳ φαρμάκῳ δολώσας ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ μάχη κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν. νῦν ὦν μεν εὖ παραινεύσης ὑπόλαβε τὸν λόγον ἀποδούς μοι τὸν παῖδα ἄπιθι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἀζήμιος, Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσεις, ἥλιον ἐπόμνυμί τοι τὸν Μασσαγετέων δεσπότην, ἣ μὲν σε ἐγὼ καὶ ἄπληστον ἐόντα αἵματος κορέσω."

213. Κύρος μὲν ἐπέων οὐδένα τούτων ἀνεειχθέντων ἐποιέετο λόγον· ὁ δὲ τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖς Σπαργαπίσης, ὥς μιν ὁ τε οἶνος ἀνῆκε καὶ ἔμαθε ἵνα ἦν κακοῦ, δεηθεὶς Κύρου ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι ἔτυχε, ὡς δὲ ἐλύθη τε

army marched away back to the Araxes, leaving behind those that were useless; whereupon a third part of the host of the Massagetæ attacked those of the army who were left behind and slew them despite resistance; then, seeing the banquet spread, when they had overcome their enemies they sat down and feasted, and after they had taken their fill of food and wine they fell asleep. Then the Persians came upon them and slew many and took many more alive, among whom was the son of Tomyris the queen, Spargapises by name, the leader of the Massagetæ.

212. When Tomyris heard what had befallen her army and her son, she sent a herald to Cyrus with this message:—"Bloodthirsty Cyrus, be not uplifted by this that you have done; it is no matter for pride if the fruit of the vine—that fruit whereof you Persians drink even to madness, so that the wine passing into your bodies makes evil words to rise in a flood to your lips—has served you as a drug to master my son withal, by guile and not in fair fight. Now therefore take this word of good counsel from me: give me back my son and depart unpunished from this country; it is enough that you have done despite to a third part of the host of the Massagetæ. But if you will not do this, then I swear by the sun, the lord of the Massagetæ, that for all you are so insatiate of blood, I will give you your fill thereof."

213. This message was brought to Cyrus, who cared nothing for it. But Spargapises, the son of the queen Tomyris, when his drunkenness left him and he knew his evil plight, entreated Cyrus that he might be loosed from his bonds; and this was granted

τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται ἐωυτόν.

214. Καὶ δὴ οὗτος μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ τελευτᾷ· Τόμυρις δέ, ὥς οἱ Κῦρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε, συλλέξασα πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτῆς δύναμιν συνέβαλε Κῦρῳ. ταύτην τὴν μάχην, ὅσαι δὴ βαρβάρων ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἰσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ πυνθάνομαι οὕτω τοῦτο γενόμενον. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ λέγεται αὐτοὺς διαστάντας ἐς ἀλλήλους τοξεύειν, μετὰ δὲ ὥς σφί τὰ βέλεα ἐξετετόξευτο, συμπεσόντας τῇσι αἰχμῇσί τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐγχειρίδιοις συνέχεσθαι. χρόνον τε δὴ ἐπὶ πολλὸν συνεστάναι μαχομένους καὶ οὐδετέρους ἐθέλειν φεύγειν· τέλος δὲ οἱ Μασσαγέται περιεγένοντο. ἢ τε δὴ πολλὴ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατιῆς αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διεφθάρη καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Κῦρος τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα ἔτεα. ἄσκον δὲ πλήσασα αἵματος ἀνθρωπηίου Τόμυρις ἐδίξητο ἐν τοῖσι τεθνεῶσι τῶν Περσέων τὸν Κῦρου νέκυν, ὥς δὲ εὔρε, ἐναπῆκε αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸν ἄσκον, λυμαινομένη δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε· “Σὺ μὲν ἐμέ ζῶσάν τε καὶ νικῶσάν σε μάχῃ ἀπώλεσας, παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν ἐλὼν δόλῳ· σὲ δ’ ἐγώ, κατὰ περ ἠπείλησα, αἵματος κορέσω.” τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κῦρου τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων, ὅδε μοι ὁ πιθανώτατος εἴριται.

215. Μασσαγέται δὲ ἐσθῆτά τε ὁμοίην τῇ Σκυθικῇ φορέουσι καὶ δίαιταν ἔχουσι, ἵπποται δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ ἄνιπποι (ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι) καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι, σαγάρεις νομίζοντες ἔχειν. χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται·



him; but no sooner was he loosed and had the use of his hands, than he made away with himself.

214. Such was the end of Spargapises. Tomyris, when Cyrus would not listen to her, collected all her power and joined battle with him. This fight I judge to have been the stubbornest of all fights that were ever fought by men that were not Greek; and indeed I have learnt that this was so. For first (it is said) they shot at each other from a distance with arrows; presently, their arrows being all shot away, they rushed upon each other and fought at grips with their spears and their daggers; and for a long time they battled foot to foot and neither would give ground; but at last the Massagetae had the mastery. There perished the greater part of the Persian army, and there fell Cyrus himself, having reigned thirty years in all save one. Tomyris filled a skin with human blood, and sought for Cyrus' body among the Persian dead; when she found it, she put his head into the skin, and spoke these words of insult to the dead man: "Though I live and conquer thee, thou hast undone me, overcoming my son by guile; but even as I threatened, so will I do, and give thee thy fill of blood." Many stories are related of Cyrus' death; this, that I have told, is the worthiest of credence.

215. These Massagetae are like the Scythians in their dress and manner of life. They are both horsemen and footmen (having some of each kind), and spearmen and bowmen; and it is their custom to carry battle-axes. They ever use gold and bronze;

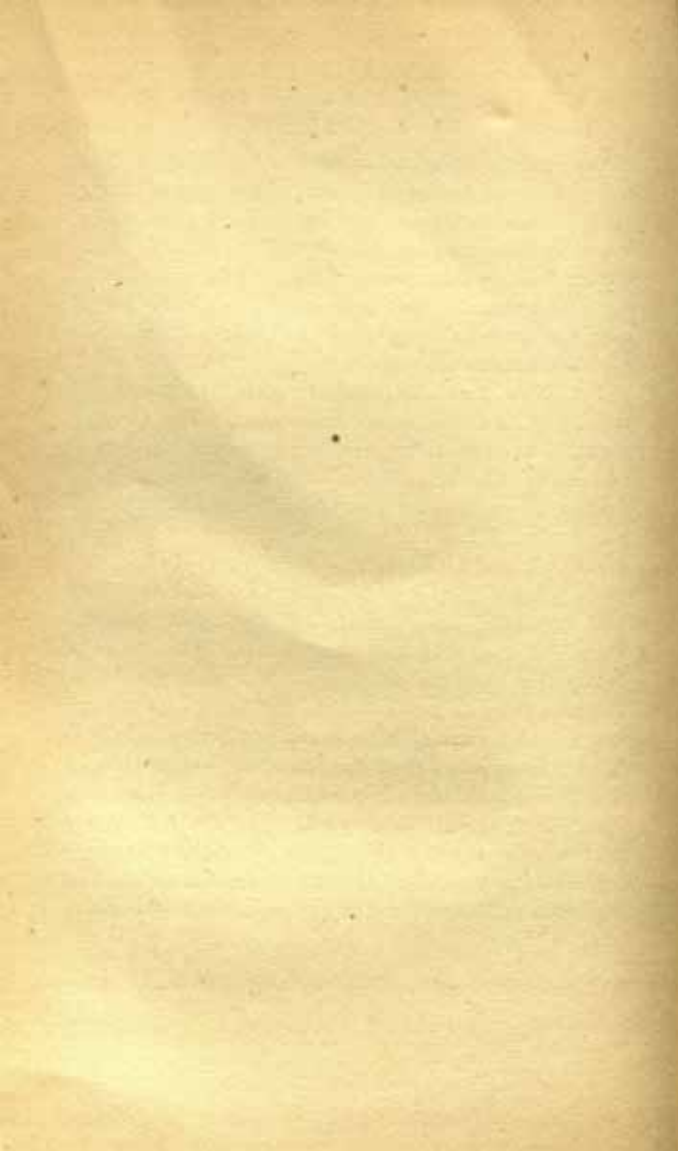
## HERODOTUS

ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐς αἰχμὰς καὶ ἄρδεις καὶ σαγάρεις, χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται, ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ ζωστῆρας καὶ μασχαλιστῆρας, χρυσῷ κοσμέονται. ὥς δ' αὐτως τῶν ἵππων τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα χαλκέους θώρηκας περιβάλλουσι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινούς καὶ στόμια καὶ φάλαρα χρυσῷ. σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ' ἀργύρῳ χρέωνται οὐδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ σφι ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὃ δὲ χρυσὸς καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς ἀπλετος.

216. Νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται τοιοῖσινδε. γυναῖκα μὲν γαμέει ἕκαστος, ταύτῃσι δὲ ἐπικοίνα χρέωνται· τὸ γὰρ Σκύθας φασὶ "Ἕλληνες ποιεῖν, οὐ Σκύθαι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιέοντες ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται· τῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυμήσῃ γυναικὸς Μασσαγέτης ἀνὴρ, τὸν φαρετρεῶνα ἀποκρεμάσας πρὸ τῆς ἀμάξης μίσγεται ἀδεῶς. οὐρὸς δὲ ἡλικίης σφι πρόκειται ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς· ἐπεὰν δὲ γέρων γένηται κάρτα, οἱ προσήκοντές οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες θύουσί μιν καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἅμα αὐτῷ, ἐψήσαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα κατευωχέονται. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ὀλβιώτατά σφι νενόμισται, τὸν δὲ νόσφω τελευτήσαντα οὐ κατασιτέονται ἀλλὰ γῇ κρύπτουσι, συμφορὴν ποιέμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἔκετο ἐς τὸ τυθῆναι. σπείρουσι δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων ζώουσι καὶ ἰχθύων· οἱ δὲ ἀφθονοῦσφι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ παραγίνονται· γαλακτοπόται δ' εἰσὶ. θεῶν δὲ μῦνον ἥλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἵππους. νόος δὲ οὗτος τῆς θυσίης· τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστῳ πάντων τῶν θνητῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται.

all their spear-points and arrow-heads and battle-axes are of bronze, and gold is the adornment of their headgear and belts and girdles. They treat their horses in like manner, arming their forehands with bronze breastplates and putting gold on reins, bits, and cheekplates. But iron and silver they never use; for there is none at all in their country, but gold and bronze abounds.

216. Now, for their customs: each man marries a wife, but the wives are common to all. The Greeks say this is a Scythian custom; it is not so, but a custom of the Massagetae. There, when a man desires a woman, he hangs his quiver before her waggon, and has intercourse with her, none hindering. Though they set no certain term to life, yet when a man is very old all his kin meet together and kill him, with beasts of the flock besides, then boil the flesh and feast on it. This is held to be the happiest death; when a man dies of a sickness they do not eat him, but bury him in the earth, and lament that he would not live to be killed. They never sow; their fare is their live-stock and the fish which they have in abundance from the Araxes. Their drink is milk. The sun is the only god whom they worship; to him they sacrifice horses; the reason of it is that he is the swiftest of the gods and therefore they give him the swiftest of mortal things.





BOOK II

1. Τελευτησαντος δὲ Κύρου παρέλαβε τὴν βασιληίην Καμβύσης, Κύρου ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κασσανδράνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω θυγατρὸς, τῆς προαποθανούσης Κύρος αὐτός τε μέγα πένθος ἐποιήσατο καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι προεῖπε πᾶσι τῶν ἦρχε πένθος ποιεῖσθαι. ταύτης δὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κύρου Καμβύσης Ἴωνας μὲν καὶ Αἰολέας ὡς δούλους πατρῷους ἐόντας ἐνόμιζε, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιέετο στρατηλασίην ἄλλους τε παραλαβὼν τῶν ἦρχε καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐπεκρύττε.

2. Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, πρὶν μὲν ἢ Ψαμμήτιχον σφέων βασιλεῦσαι, ἐνόμιζον ἐωυτοὺς πρῶτους γενέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ψαμμήτιχος βασιλεύσας ἠθέλησε εἶδέναι οἷτινες γενοῖατο πρῶτοι, ἀπὸ τούτου νομίζουσι Φρύγας προτέρους γενέσθαι ἐωυτῶν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐωυτούς. Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο πυνθανόμενος πόρον οὐδένα τούτου ἀνευρεῖν, οἱ γενοῖατο πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιτεχνᾶται τοιόνδε. παιδίᾳ δύο νεογνὰ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων δίδωσι ποιμένι τρέφειν ἐς τὰ ποίμνια τροφήν τινα τοιόνδε, ἐντειλάμενος μηδένα ἀντίον αὐτῶν μηδεμίαν φωνὴν ἰέναι, ἐν στέγῃ δὲ ἐρήμῃ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν κέεσθαι αὐτά, καὶ τὴν ὥρην ἐπαγινέειν σφι αἶγας, πλήσαντα δὲ γάλακτος τὰλλα διαπρήσσεσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ ἐποιέε τε καὶ ἐνετέλλετο Ψαμμήτιχος θέλων ἀκού-

## BOOK II

1. AFTER the death of Cyrus Cambyses inherited his throne. He was the son of Cyrus and Cassandane daughter of Pharnaspes, for whom, when she died before him, Cyrus himself mourned deeply and bade all his subjects mourn also. Cambyses was the son of this woman and Cyrus. He considered the Ionians and Aeolians as slaves inherited from his father, and prepared an expedition against Egypt, taking with him, with others subject to him, some of the Greeks over whom he held sway.

2. Now before Psammetichus became king of Egypt,<sup>1</sup> the Egyptians deemed themselves to be the oldest nation on earth. But ever since he desired to learn, on becoming king, what nation was oldest, they have considered that, though they came before all other nations, the Phrygians are older still. Psammetichus, being nowise able to discover by inquiry what men had first come into being, devised a plan whereby he took two newborn children of common men and gave them to a shepherd to bring up among his flocks. He gave charge that none should speak any word in their hearing; they were to lie by themselves in a lonely hut, and in due season the shepherd was to bring goats and give the children their milk and do all else needful. Psammetichus did this, and gave this charge, because he desired to hear what speech

<sup>1</sup> In 664 B.C., probably.

σαι τῶν παιδίων, ἀπαλλαχθέντων τῶν ἀσήμων κυνημάτων, ἥντινα φωνὴν ῥήξουσι πρώτην· τὰ περ ὧν καὶ ἐγένετο. ὥς γὰρ διέτης χρόνος ἐγγόνεε ταῦτα τῷ ποιμένι πρήσسونτι, ἀνοίγοντι τὴν θύρην καὶ ἐσιόντι τὰ παιδία ἀμφότερα προσπίπτοντα βεκὸς ἐφώνεον, ὀρέγοντα τὰς χεῖρας. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ἀκούσας ἡσυχος ἦν ὁ ποιμὴν· ὥς δὲ πολλάκις φοιτέοντι καὶ ἐπιμελομένῳ πολλὸν ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, οὕτω δὴ σημήνας τῷ δεσπότῃ ἤγαγε τὰ παιδία κελεύσαντος ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐκείνου. ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐπυνθάνετο οὔτινες ἀνθρώπων βεκὸς τι καλέουσι, πυνθανόμενος δὲ εὗρισκε Φρύγας καλέοντας τὸν ἄρτον. οὕτω συνεχώρησαν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ τοιοῦτῳ σταθμησάμενοι πρήγματι τοὺς Φρύγας πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι ἐωυτῶν. ὧδε μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱρέων τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τοῦ ἐν Μέμφι ἤκουον· Ἕλληνες δὲ λέγουσι ἄλλα τε μάταια πολλὰ καὶ ὥς γυναικῶν τὰς γλώσσας ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐκταμὼν τὴν δίαιταν οὕτω ἐποίησατο τῶν παίδων παρὰ ταύτησι τῇσι γυναιξί.

3. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν τροφὴν τῶν παίδων τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον, ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν Μέμφι ἐλθὼν ἐς λόγους τοῖσι ἱρεῦσι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας τε καὶ ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν αὐτῶν τούτων εἵνεκεν ἐτραπόμην, ἐθέλων εἰδέναι εἰ συμβήσονται τοῖσι λόγοις τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι· οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιοπολῖται λέγονται Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι λογιώτατοι. τὰ μὲν νυν θεῖα τῶν ἀπηγημάτων οἷα ἤκουον οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμος ἐξηγέεσθαι, ἔξω ἢ τὰ οὐνόματα αὐτῶν μῦθον, νομίζων πάντας



would first break from the children, when they were past the age of indistinct babbling. And he had his wish; for when the shepherd had done as he was bidden for two years, one day as he opened the door and entered both the children ran to him stretching out their hands and calling "Bekos." When he first heard this he said nothing of it; but coming often and taking careful note, he was ever hearing this same word, till at last he told the matter to his master, and on command brought the children into the king's presence. Psammetichus heard them himself, and inquired to what language this word Bekos might belong; he found it to be a Phrygian word signifying bread. Reasoning from this fact the Egyptians confessed that the Phrygians were older than they. This is the story which I heard from the priests of Hephaestus'<sup>1</sup> temple at Memphis; the Greeks relate (among many foolish tales) that Psammetichus made the children to be reared by women whose tongues he had cut out.

3. Besides this story of the rearing of the children, I heard also other things at Memphis, in converse with the priests of Hephaestus; and I visited Thebes too and Heliopolis for this very purpose, because I desired to know if the people of those places would tell me the same tale as the priests at Memphis; for the people of Heliopolis are said to be the most learned of the Egyptians. Now, for the stories which I heard about the gods, I am not desirous to relate them, saving only the names of the deities; for I

<sup>1</sup> Identified by the Greeks with the Egyptian Ptah.

ἀνθρώπους ἴσον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπίστασθαι· τὰ δ' ἂν ἐπιμνησθῆω αὐτῶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐξαναγκαζόμενος ἐπιμνησθήσομαι.

4. Ὅσα δὲ ἀνθρωπῆια πρήγματα, ὧδε ἔλεγον ὁμολογέοντες σφίσι, πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἐξευρεῖν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, δυνάδεκα μέρεια δασαμένους τῶν ὥρέων ἐς αὐτόν· ταῦτα δὲ ἐξευρεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀστέρων ἔλεγον· ἄγονσι δὲ τοσῶδε σοφώτερον Ἑλλήνων, ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅσῳ Ἑλληνες μὲν διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἐμβόλιμον ἐπεμβάλλουσι τῶν ὥρέων εἵνεκεν, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τριηκοντημέρους ἄγοντες τοὺς δυνάδεκα μῆνας ἐπάγουσι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πέντε ἡμέρας πάρεξ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, καὶ σφί ὁ κύκλος τῶν ὥρέων ἐς τὡντὸ περιὼν παραγίνεται. δυνάδεκά τε θεῶν ἐπωνυμίας ἔλεγον πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους νομίσαι καὶ Ἑλλήνας παρὰ σφέων ἀναλαβεῖν, βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀπονεῖμαι σφέας πρώτους καὶ ζῶα ἐν λίθοις ἐγγλύψαι. καὶ τούτων μὲν νῦν τὰ πλέω ἔργῳ ἐδήλουν οὕτω γενόμενα. βασιλεῦσαι δὲ πρῶτον Αἰγύπτου ἀνθρώπον ἔλεγον Μῖνα· ἐπὶ τούτου, πλὴν τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ νομοῦ, πᾶσαν Αἰγυπτον εἶναι ἔλος, καὶ αὐτῆς εἶναι οὐδὲν ὑπερέχον τῶν νῦν ἔνερθε λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος ἐόντων, ἐς τὴν ἀνάπλους ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπτά ἡμερέων ἐστὶ ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμόν.

5. Καὶ εὖ μοι ἐδόκεον λεγεῖν περὶ τῆς χώρας· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ καὶ μὴ προακούσαντι ἰδόντι δέ, ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, ὅτι Αἰγύπτος, ἐς τὴν Ἑλληνες

<sup>1</sup> There is much obscurity about the "Twelve Gods." This only appears to be clear, that eight (or nine) gods form the first order of the Egyptian hierarchy, and that there are

hold that no man knows about the gods more than another; and I will say no more about them than what I am constrained to say by the course of my history.

4. But as regarding human affairs, this was the account in which they all agreed: the Egyptians, they said, were the first men who reckoned by years and made the year to consist of twelve divisions of the seasons. They discovered this from the stars (so they said). And their reckoning is, to my mind, a juster one than that of the Greeks; for the Greeks add an intercalary month every other year, so that the seasons may agree; but the Egyptians, reckoning thirty days to each of the twelve months, add five days in every year over and above the number, and so the completed circle of seasons is made to agree with the calendar. Further, the Egyptians (said they) first used the appellations of twelve gods<sup>1</sup> (which the Greeks afterwards borrowed from them); and it was they who first assigned to the several gods their altars and images and temples, and first carved figures on stone. They showed me most of this by plain proof. The first human king of Egypt, they said, was Min. In his time all Egypt save the Thebaic<sup>2</sup> province was a marsh: all the country that we now see was then covered by water, north of the lake Moeris,<sup>3</sup> which lake is seven days' journey up the river from the sea.

5. And I think that their account of the country was true. For even though a man has not before been told it he can at once see, if he have sense, that that Egypt to which the Greeks sail is land acquired twelve of the second rank. See ch. 43, and Rawlinson's essay (ch. 3 in his Appendix to Book II.).

<sup>1</sup> The southern part of Upper Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> In the modern Payyum, west of the Nile.

ναυτίλλονται, ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐπὶ κτητὸς τε γῆ καὶ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὰ κατύπερθε ἔτι τῆς λίμνης ταύτης μέχρι τριῶν ἡμερέων πλόου, τῆς περὶ ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν ἔτι τοιόνδε ἔλεγον, ἔστι δὲ ἕτερον τοιόνδε. Αἰγύπτου γὰρ φύσις ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας τοιήδε. πρῶτα μὲν προσπλέων ἔτι καὶ ἡμέρης δρόμον ἀπέχων ἀπὸ γῆς, κατεῖς καταπειρητηρίην πηλὸν τε ἀνοίσεις καὶ ἐν ἑνδεκα ὀργυιῇσι ἔσσαι. τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δηλοῖ πρόχυσιν τῆς γῆς εἶδεν.

6. Αὐτὶς δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶ Αἰγύπτου μῆκος τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἐξήκοντα σχοῖνοι, κατὰ ἡμεῖς διαιρέομεν εἶναι Αἰγυπτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλινθινήτεω κόλπου μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἣν τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει· ταύτης ὧν ἅπο οἱ ἐξήκοντα σχοῖνοι εἰσὶ. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ γεωπεῖναι εἰσὶ ἀνθρώπων, ὀργυιῇσι μεμετρήκασιν τὴν χώραν, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσσαν γεωπεῖναι, σταδίοισι, οἱ δὲ πολλὰν ἔχουσι, παρασάγγῃσι, οἱ δὲ ἄφθονον λίην, σχοῖνοισι. δύναται δὲ ὁ παρασάγγης τριήκοντα στάδια, ὁ δὲ σχοῖνος, μέτρον ἔδν Αἰγύπτιον, ἐξήκοντα στάδια.

7. Οὕτω ἂν εἶσαν Αἰγύπτου στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν καὶ μέχρι Ἡλίου πόλιος ἐς τὴν μεσόγαίαν ἐστὶ εὐρέα Αἰγυπτος, εἶδεν πᾶσα ὑπὲρ τε καὶ ἐνυδρος<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἰλύς. ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω ἰόντι παραπλησίη τὸ μῆκος τῇ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὁδῷ τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν δωδεκαθεῶν τοῦ βωμοῦ φερούσῃ ἐς τε Πῖσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν νηὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. σμικρὸν τι τὸ διά-

<sup>1</sup> All MSS. have *ἐνυδρος*, which is a strange epithet for the Delta. Modern editors read *ἐνυδρος* or *εὐνυδρος*.



by the Egyptians, given them by the river—not only the lower country but even all the land to three days' voyage above the aforesaid lake, which is of the same nature as the other, though the priests added not this to what they said. For this is the nature of the land of Egypt: firstly, when you approach to it from the sea and are yet a day's run from land, if you then let down a sounding line you will bring up mud and find a depth of eleven fathoms. This shows that the deposit from the land reaches thus far.

6. Further, the length of the seacoast of Egypt itself is sixty "schoeni,"<sup>1</sup> that is of Egypt as we judge it to be, reaching from the Plinthinete gulf to the Serbonian marsh, which is under the Casian mountain; between these there is this length of sixty schoeni. Men that have scanty land measure by fathoms; those that have more, by furlongs; those that have much land, by parasangs; and those who have great abundance of it, by schoeni. The parasang is of thirty furlongs' length, and the schoenus, which is an Egyptian measure, is of sixty.

7. By this reckoning then the seaboard of Egypt will be three thousand and six hundred furlongs in length. Inland from the sea as far as Heliopolis Egypt is a wide land, all flat and watery and marshy. From the sea up to Heliopolis it is a journey about as long as the way from the altar of the twelve gods at Athens to the temple of Olympian Zeus at Pisa. If a reckoning be made there will be seen to be but

<sup>1</sup> Literally "ropes."

φορον εὖροι τις ἂν λογιζόμενος τῶν ὁδῶν τουτέων τὸ μὴ ἴσας μῆκος εἶναι, οὐ πλέον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐς Πίσαν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων καταδεῖ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων μὴ εἶναι πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, ἡ δὲ ἐς Ἑλίου πόλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πληροὶ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον.

8. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑλίου πόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι στεινὴ ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος. τῇ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀραβίης ὄρος παρατέταται, φέρον ἀπ' ἄρκτου πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον, αἰεὶ ἄνω τεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην θάλασσαν· ἐν τῷ αἰ λισοτομίαι ἔνεισι αἱ ἐς τὰς πυραμίδας κατατμηθεῖσαι τὰς ἐν Μέμφι. ταύτῃ μὲν λῆγον ἀνακάμπτει ἐς τὰ εἴρηται τὸ ὄρος· τῇ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐώντοῦ ἐστὶ μακρότατον, ὥς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην, δύο μηνῶν αὐτὸ εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ ἡοῦς πρὸς ἐσπέρην, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῷ λιβανωτοφώρα αὐτοῦ τὰ τέρματα εἶναι. τοῦτο μὲν νυν τὸ ὄρος τοιοῦτο ἐστί, τὸ δὲ πρὸς Λιβύης τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὄρος ἄλλο πέτρινον τείνει, ἐν τῷ αἰ πυραμίδες ἔνεισι, ψάμμῳ κατειλυμένον, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου τὰ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην φέροντα. τὸ ὦν δὴ ἀπὸ Ἑλίου πόλιος οὐκέτι πολλὸν χωρίον ὥς εἶναι Αἰγύπτου, ἀλλ' ὅσον τε ἡμερέων τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα<sup>1</sup> ἀναπλόου ἐστὶ στεινὴ Αἴγυπτος, ἐοῦσα τῶν ὁρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τὸ μεταξὺ πεδιάς μὲν γῆ, στάδιοι δὲ μάλιστα ἐδόκεόν μοι εἶναι, τῇ στεινότατον ἐστί, διηκοσίων οὐ πλείους ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου ὄρεος ἐς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλεόμενον. τὸ δ' ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτὶς εὐρέα Αἴγυπτος ἐστί. πέφυκε μὲν νυν ἡ χώρα αὕτη οὕτω.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have τεσσέρων; but this is inconsistent with ch. 9. The addition of καὶ δέκα makes the figures agree, roughly.

a little difference of length, not more than fifteen furlongs, between these two journeys; for the journey from Athens to Pisa is fifteen furlongs short of fifteen hundred, which is the tale of furlongs between the sea and Heliopolis.

8. Beyond and above Heliopolis Egypt is a narrow land. For it is bounded on the one side by the mountains of Arabia, which bear from the north to the south, ever stretching southward towards the sea called the Red Sea. In these mountains are the quarries that were hewn out for the making of the pyramids at Memphis. This way then the mountains turn, and end in the places of which I have spoken; their greatest breadth from east to west, as I learnt, is a two months' journey, and their easternmost boundaries yield frankincense. Such are these mountains. On the side of Libya Egypt is bounded by another range of rocky mountains, wherein are the pyramids; this is all covered with sand, and it runs in the same direction as those Arabian hills that bear southward. Beyond Heliopolis there is no great distance, that is, in Egypt;<sup>1</sup> the narrow land has but a length of fourteen days' journey up the river. Between the mountain ranges aforesaid the land is level, and where the plain is narrowest it seemed to me that there were no more than two hundred furlongs between the Arabian mountains and those that are called Libyan. Beyond this Egypt is a wide land again. Such is the nature of this country.

<sup>1</sup> *ὅτι ἐκεῖ Αἰγύπτου*; so much of the Nile valley being outside Egypt. But it is possible that the words may mean "no great distance, for Egypt," i.e. no great distance relatively to the size of the country.

9. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλίου πόλιος ἐς Θήβας ἐστὶ ἀνάπλοος ἐννέα ἡμερέων, στάδιοι δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἐνὸς καὶ ὀγδώκοντα ἑόντων. οὗτοι συντιθέμενοι οἱ στάδιοι Αἰγύπτου τὸ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἤδη μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται ὅτι ἑξακοσίων τε ἐστὶ σταδίων καὶ τρισχιλίων, ὅσον δέ τι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν μέχρι Θηβέων ἐστὶ, σημανένω· στάδιοι γὰρ εἰσὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Θηβέων ἐς Ἐλεφαντίνην καλεομένην πόλιν στάδιοι χίλιοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι εἰσὶ.

10. Ταύτης ὦν τῆς χώρας τῆς εἰρημένης ἡ πολλή, κατὰ περ οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον, ἐδόκεε καὶ αὐτῷ μοι εἶναι ἐπὶ κτήτος Αἰγυπτίοισι. τῶν γὰρ ὁρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν πόλιν κειμένων τὸ μεταξὺ ἐφαίνεται μοι εἶναι κοτὲ κόλπος θαλάσσης, ὥσπερ γε τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον καὶ Τευθρανίην καὶ Ἐφεσόν τε καὶ Μαιάνδρου πεδίων, ὥς γε εἶναι σμικρὰ ταῦτα μεγάλοισι συμβαλεῖν· τῶν γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία προσχωσάντων ποταμῶν ἐνὶ τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου, ἑόντος πενταστόμου, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν πλήθεος πέρι ἄξιος συμβληθῆναι ἐστὶ. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, οὐ κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ἑόντες μεγάθρα, οὔτινες ἔργα ἀποδεξάμενοι μεγάλα εἰσὶ· τῶν ἐγὼ φράσαι ἔχω οὐνόματα καὶ ἄλλων καὶ οὐκ ἤκιστα Ἀχελφού, ὃς ῥέων δι' Ἀκαρνανίης καὶ ἐξιείς ἐς θάλασσαν τῶν Ἐχινάδων νήσων τὰς ἡμισέας ἤδη ἠπειρον πεποίηκε.

11. Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίης χώρας, Αἰγύπτου δὲ οὐ πρόσω, κόλπος θαλάσσης ἐσέχων ἐκ τῆς



9. From Heliopolis to Thebes it is nine days' journey by river, and the distance is four thousand eight hundred and sixty furlongs, or eighty-one schoeni. This then is a full statement of all the furlongs in Egypt: the seaboard is three thousand six hundred furlongs long; and I will now declare the distance inland from the sea to Thebes: it is six thousand one hundred and twenty furlongs. And between Thebes and the city called Elephantine there are eighteen hundred furlongs.

10. The greater portion, then, of this country whereof I have spoken was (as the priests told me, and I myself formed the same judgment) land acquired by the Egyptians; all that lies between the ranges of mountains above Memphis to which I have referred seemed to me to have been once a gulf of the sea, just as the country about Ilion and Teuthrania and Ephesus and the plain of the Maeander, to compare these small things with great. For of the rivers that brought down the stuff to make these lands there is none worthy to be compared for greatness with one of the mouths of the Nile; and the Nile has five mouths. There are also other rivers, not so great as the Nile, that have wrought great effects; I could declare their names, but chief among them is Achelous, which, flowing through Acarnania and issuing into the sea, has already made half of the Echinades islands to be mainland.

11. Now in Arabia, not far from Egypt, there is a gulf of the sea entering in from the sea called Red,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The "sea called Red," it will be remembered, is the sea south and east of Arabia: the gulf entering in from it is our Red Sea. Suppose the Delta to have been once a gulf too, then there would have been two gulfs, both running up into Egypt, their heads not far from each other.

Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης, μακρὸς οὕτω δὴ  
 τι καὶ στεινὸς ὥς ἔρχομαι φράσω· μῆκος μὲν  
 πλόου ἀρξαμένῳ ἐκ μυχοῦ διεκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν  
 εὐρέαν θάλασσαν ἡμέραι ἀναισιμούνται τεσσαρά-  
 κοντα εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ· εὖρος δέ, τῇ εὐρύτατος  
 ἐστὶ ὁ κόλπος, ἡμισυ ἡμέρης πλόου. ῥηχὴ δ'  
 ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄμπωτις ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται.  
 ἕτερον τοιοῦτον κόλπον καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον δοκέω  
 γενέσθαι κοτέ, τὸν μὲν ἐκ τῆς βορρῆς θαλάσσης  
 κόλπον ἐσέχοντα ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίας, τὸν δὲ Ἀράβιον,  
 τὸν ἔρχομαι λέγων, ἐκ τῆς νοτίης φέροντα ἐπὶ  
 Συρίης, σχεδὸν μὲν ἀλλήλοισι συντετραίνοντας  
 τοὺς μυχοὺς, ὀλίγον δέ τι παραλλάσσοντας τῆς  
 χώρας. εἰ ὦν ἐβελήσει ἐκτρέψαι τὸ ῥέεθρον ὁ  
 Νεῖλος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, τί μιν  
 κωλύει ῥέοντος τούτου ἐκχωσθῆναι ἐντὸς γε δις-  
 μυρίων ἐτέων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἔλπομαί γε καὶ  
 μυρίων ἐντὸς χωσθῆναι ἂν κοῦ γε δὴ ἐν τῷ  
 προαναισιμωμένῳ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι  
 οὐκ ἂν χωσθείη κόλπος καὶ πολλῶ μέζων ἐτι  
 τούτου ὑπὸ τοσούτου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ οὕτω  
 ἐργατικοῦ;

12. Τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ὧν καὶ τοῖσι λέγουσι  
 αὐτὰ πείθομαι καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω κάρτα δοκέω εἶναι,  
 ἰδὼν τε τὴν Αἴγυπτον προκειμένην τῆς ἐχομένης  
 γῆς κογχυλίᾳ τε φαινόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖσι ὄρεσι καὶ  
 ἄλμην ἐπανθέουσιν, ὥστε καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας  
 δηλέεσθαι, καὶ ψάμμον μόνον Αἰγύπτου ὄρος  
 τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος ἔχον, πρὸς δὲ τῇ χώρῃ  
 οὔτε τῇ Ἀραβίῃ προσούρῳ εἰσὶν τὴν Αἴγυπτον  
 προσεικέλην οὔτε τῇ Λιβύῃ, οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τῇ  
 Συρίῃ (τῆς γὰρ Ἀραβίης τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν

of which the length and narrowness is such as I shall show : for length, it is a forty days' voyage for a ship rowed by oars from its inner end out to the wide sea ; and for breadth, it is half a day's voyage at the widest. Every day the tide ebbs and flows therein. I hold that where now is Egypt there was once another such gulf ; one entered from the northern sea towards Aethiopia, and the other, the Arabian gulf of which I will speak, bore from the south towards Syria ; the ends of these gulfs pierced into the country near to each other, and but a little space of land divided them. Now if the Nile choose to turn his waters into this Arabian gulf, what hinders that it be not silted up by his stream in twenty thousand years ? nay, I think that ten thousand would suffice for it. Is it then to be believed that in the ages before my birth a gulf even much greater than this could not be silted up by a river so great and so busy ?

12. Therefore, as to Egypt, I believe those who so speak, and I am myself fully so persuaded ; for I have seen that Egypt projects into the sea beyond the neighbouring land, and shells are plain to view on the mountains and things are coated with salt (insomuch that the very pyramids are wasted thereby), and the only sandy mountain in Egypt is that which is above Memphis ; moreover, Egypt is like neither to the neighbouring land of Arabia, nor to Libya, no, nor to Syria (for the seaboard of Arabia

Σύροι νέμονται), ἀλλὰ μελάγγαιόν τε καὶ καταρρηγνυμένην, ὥστε ἐοῦσαν ἰλύν τε καὶ πρόχυσιν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας κατειηνευγμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. τὴν δὲ Λιβύην ἰδμεν ἐρυθροτέρην τε γῆν καὶ ὑποψαμμοτέρην, τὴν δὲ Ἀραβίην τε καὶ Συρίην ἀργιλωδεστέραν τε καὶ ὑπόπετρον ἐοῦσαν.

13. Ἐλεγον δὲ καὶ τότε μοι μέγα τεκμήριον περὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης οἱ ἱρέες, ὥς ἐπὶ Μοίριος βασιλέος, ὅπως ἔλθοι ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ πῆχας τὸ ἐλάχιστον, ἄρδεσκε Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἐνερθε Μέμφιος· καὶ Μοίρι οὐκ ἦν ἔτεα εἰνακόσια τετελευτηκότι ὅτε τῶν ἱρέων ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἤκουον. νῦν δὲ εἰ μὴ ἐπ' ἑκκαίδεκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα πῆχας ἀναβῇ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὁ ποταμός, οὐκ ὑπερβαίνει ἐς τὴν χώραν. δοκέουσί τέ μοι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἐνερθε λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος οἰκέοντες τά τε ἄλλα χωρία καὶ τὸ καλεόμενον Δέλτα, ἣν οὕτω ἡ χώρα αὕτη κατὰ λόγον ἐπιδιδῶ ἐς ὕψος καὶ τὸ ὅμοιον ἀποδιδῶ ἐς αὐξήσιν,<sup>1</sup> μὴ κατακλύζοντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Νείλου πείσεσθαι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τὸν ἐπίλοιπον Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ κοτὲ αὐτοὶ Ἕλληνας ἔφασαν πείσεσθαι. πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὥς ὕεται πᾶσα ἡ χώρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀλλ' οὐ ποταμοῖσι ἄρδεται κατὰ περ ἢ σφετέρῃ, ἔφασαν Ἕλληνας ψευσθέντας κοτὲ ἐλπίδος μεγάλης κακῶς πεινήσειν. τὸ δὲ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐθέλει λέγειν ὥς, εἰ μὴ ἐθελήσει σφι ὕειν ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ αὐχμῶ διαχρᾶσθαι, λιμῶ οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰρεθήσονται· οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφι ἐστὶ ὕδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστροφὴ ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μῦνον.

<sup>1</sup> Stein brackets καὶ . . . αὐξήσιν.



is inhabited by Syrians); it is a land of black and crumbling earth, as if it were alluvial deposit carried down the river from Aethiopia; but we know that the soil of Libya is redder and somewhat sandy, and Arabia and Syria are lands rather of clay and stones.

13. This too that the priests told me concerning Egypt is a strong proof; when Moeris was king, if the river rose as much as eight cubits, it watered all Egypt below Memphis.<sup>1</sup> Moeris was not yet nine hundred years dead when I heard this from the priests. But now, if the river rise not at the least to sixteen or fifteen cubits, the land is not flooded. And, to my thinking, the Egyptians who dwell lower down the river than the lake Moeris, and chiefly those who inhabit what is called the Delta—these, if thus this land of theirs rises in such proportion and likewise increases in extent, will (the Nile no longer flooding it) be ever after in the same plight which they themselves once said would be the case of the Greeks; for learning that all the Greek land is watered by rain, and not, like theirs, by river, they said that some day the Greeks would be disappointed of their high hopes, and miserably starve: signifying thereby that should it be heaven's will to send the Greeks no rain and afflict them with drought, famine must come upon them, as receiving all this water from Zeus and having no other resource.

<sup>1</sup> Supposing this statement to be true, Moeris must have been king much more than 900 years before Hdt.: 900 years being much too short a period for a rise of eight cubits in the height of the Nile valley.

14. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἑλληνας Αἰγυπτίοισι ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα εἴρηται· φέρε δὲ νῦν καὶ αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι ὡς ἔχει φράσω· εἰ σφί θέλοι, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ἡ χώρα ἡ ἔνερθε Μέμφιος (αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ αὐξανόμενη) κατὰ λόγον τοῦ παροιχομένου χρόνου ἐς ὕψος αὐξάνεσθαι, ἄλλο τι ἢ οἱ ταύτῃ οἰκέοντες Αἰγυπτίων πεινήσουσι; εἰ μήτε γε ὕσεται σφί ἡ χώρα μήτε ὁ ποταμὸς οἷός τ' ἔσται ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας ὑπερβαίνειν. ἡ γὰρ δὴ νῦν γε οὗτοι ἀπονητότατα καρπὸν κομίζονται ἐκ γῆς τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων πάντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων· οἱ οὔτε ἀρότρῳ ἀναρρηγνύντες αὐλακὰς ἔχουσι πόρους οὔτε σκάλλοντες οὔτε ἄλλο ἐργαζόμενοι οὐδὲν τῶν οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι περὶ λιμὸν πονέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν σφί ὁ ποταμὸς αὐτόματος ἐπελθὼν ἄρσῃ τὰς ἀρούρας, ἄρσας δὲ ἀπολίπῃ ὀπίσω, τότε σπείρας ἕκαστος τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἀρουραν ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτὴν ὕς, ἐπεὰν δὲ καταπατήσῃ τῇσι ὕσιν τὸ σπέρμα, ἄμητον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου μένει, ἀποδινήσας δὲ τῇσι ὕσιν τὸν σῖτον οὕτω κομίζεται.

15. Εἰ ὦν βουλόμεθα γνώμῃσι τῇσι Ἰώνων χρᾶσθαι τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον, οἱ φασὶ τὸ Δέλτα μῦνον εἶναι Αἴγυπτον, ἀπὸ Περσέος καλεομένης σκοπιῆς λέγοντες τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν εἶναι αὐτῆς μέχρι ταριχηίων τῶν Πηλουσιακῶν, τῇ δὴ τεσσαράκοντα εἰσὶ σχοῖνοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεγόντων ἐς μεσόγαιαν τείνειν αὐτὴν μέχρι Κερκασώρου πόλιος, κατ' ἣν σχίζεται ὁ Νεῖλος ἐς τε Πηλούσιον ῥέων καὶ ἐς Κάνωβον, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα λεγόντων τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὰ μὲν Λιβύης τὰ δὲ Ἀραβίης εἶναι, ἀποδεικνύοιμεν ἂν τούτῳ τῷ

14. And this saying of the Egyptians about the Greeks was true enough. But now let me show what is the case of the Egyptians themselves: if (as I have already said) the country below Memphis—for it is this which rises—should increase in height in the same degree as formerly, will not the Egyptians who dwell in it go hungry, there being no rain in their country and the river being unable to inundate their fields? Now, indeed, there are no men, neither in the rest of Egypt, nor in the whole world, who gain from the soil with so little labour; they have not the toil of breaking up the land with the plough, nor of hoeing, nor of any other work which other men do to get them a crop; the river rises of itself, waters the fields, and then sinks back again; thereupon each man sows his field and sends swine into it to tread down the seed, and waits for the harvest; then he makes the swine to thresh his grain, and so garners it.

15. Now if we agree with the opinion of the Ionians, namely that nothing but the Delta is Egypt, whereof the seaboard reaches, according to them, from what is called the watchtower of Perseus, forty schoeni to the salting factories of Pelusium, while inland it stretches as far as the city of Cercasorus,<sup>1</sup> where the Nile divides and flows thence to Pelusium and Canobus (all the rest of Egypt being, they say, partly Libya and partly Arabia): if

<sup>1</sup> At the southern point of the Delta, where the two main channels of the Nile divide, not far below Cairo.

λόγῳ χρεώμενοι Αἰγυπτίοισι οὐκ εὐῶσαν πρό-  
 τερον χώραν. ἤδη γάρ σφι τό γε Δέλτα, ὡς  
 αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκέει, ἐστὶ  
 κατάρρυντόν τε καὶ νεωστὶ ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν  
 ἀναπεφηνός. εἰ τοίνυν σφι χώρα γε μηδεμία  
 ὑπῆρχε, τί περιεργάζοντο δοκέοντες πρῶτοι ἀν-  
 θρώπων γεγονέναι; οὐδὲ ἔδει σφέας ἐς διάπειραν  
 τῶν παιδίων ἰέναι, τίνα γλῶσσαν πρώτην ἀπή-  
 σουσι. ἀλλ' οὔτε Αἰγυπτίους δοκέω ἅμα τῷ  
 Δέλτα τῷ ὑπὸ Ἰώνων καλεομένῳ γενέσθαι αἰεὶ  
 τε εἶναι ἐξ οὗ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐγένετο, προιοῦσης  
 δὲ τῆς χώρας πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους  
 αὐτῶν γενέσθαι πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑποκαταβαί-  
 νοντας. τὸ δ' ὦν πάσαι αἱ Θῆβαι Αἰγυπτος  
 ἐκαλέετο, τῆς τὸ περίμετρον στάδιοι εἰσὶ εἴκοσι  
 καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι.

16. Εἰ ὦν ἡμεῖς ὀρθῶς περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκομεν,  
 Ἴωνες οὐκ εὖ φρονέουσι περὶ Αἰγύπτου· εἰ δὲ  
 ὀρθή ἐστὶ ἡ γνώμη τῶν Ἰώνων, Ἑλληνας τε καὶ  
 αὐτοὺς Ἴωνας ἀποδείκνυμι οὐκ ἐπισταμένους  
 λογίζεσθαι, οἱ φασὶ τρία μόρια εἶναι γῆν πᾶσαν,  
 Εὐρώπην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Λιβύην. τέταρτον  
 γὰρ δὴ σφέας δεῖ προσλογίζεσθαι Αἰγύπτου τὸ  
 Δέλτα, εἰ μήτε γε ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίας μήτε τῆς  
 Λιβύης· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Νεῖλός γε ἐστὶ κατὰ τοῦτον  
 τὸν λόγον ὁ τὴν Ἀσίην οὐρίζων τῇ Λιβύῃ, τοῦ  
 Δέλτα δὲ τούτου κατὰ τὸ ὅξυ περιρρήγνυται ὁ  
 Νεῖλος, ὥστε ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ Ἀσίας τε καὶ Λιβύης  
 γίνονται ἄν.

17. Καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰώνων γνώμην ἀπίεμεν, ἡμεῖς  
 δὲ ὧδε καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγομεν, Αἰγυπτον μὲν  
 πᾶσαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων οἰκομέ-



we follow this account, we can show that there was once no country for the Egyptians; for we have seen that (as the Egyptians themselves say, and as I myself judge) the Delta is alluvial land and but lately (so to say) come into being. Then if there was once no country for them, it was but a useless thought that they were the oldest nation on earth, and they needed not to make that trial to see what language the children would first utter. I hold rather that the Egyptians did not come into being with the making of that which Ionians call the Delta: they ever existed since men were first made; and as the land grew in extent many of them spread down over it, and many stayed behind. Be that as it may, the Theban province, a land of six thousand one hundred and twenty furlongs in circuit, was of old called Egypt.

16. If then our judgment of this be right, the Ionians are in error concerning Egypt; but if their opinion be right, then it is plain that they and the rest of the Greeks cannot reckon truly, when they divide the whole earth into three parts, Europe, Asia, and Libya; they must add to these yet a fourth part, the Delta of Egypt, if it belong neither to Asia nor to Libya; for by their showing the Nile is not the river that separates Asia and Libya; the Nile divides at the extreme angle of this Delta, so that this land must be between Asia and Libya.

17. Nay, we put the Ionians' opinion aside; and our own judgment concerning the matter is this: Egypt is all that country which is inhabited by

νην κατὰ περ Κιλικίην τὴν ὑπὸ Κιλικίων καὶ Ἀσσυρίην τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων, οὐρισμα δὲ Ἀσίη καὶ Λιβύη οἶδαμεν οὐδὲν ἔον ὀρθῶ λόγῳ εἰ μὴ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίων οὐρους. εἰ δὲ τῷ ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων νενομισμένῳ χρησόμεθα, νομιοῦμεν Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν ἀρξαμένην ἀπὸ Καταδούπων τε καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος δίχα διαιρέσθαι καὶ ἀμφοτερέων τῶν ἐπωνυμίων ἔχουσιν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας. ὁ γὰρ δὴ Νεῖλος ἀρξάμενος ἐκ τῶν Καταδούπων ῥέει μέσσην Αἴγυπτον σχίζων ἐς θάλασσαν. μέχρι μὲν νυν Κερκασώρου πόλιος ῥέει εἰς ἑὸν ὁ Νεῖλος, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος σχίζεται τριφασίας ὁδοῦς. καὶ ἡ μὲν πρὸς ἡῶ τράπεται, τὸ καλεῖται Πηλοῦσιον στόμα, ἡ δὲ ἐτέρη τῶν ὁδῶν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔχει· τοῦτο δὲ Κανωβικὸν στόμα κέκληται. ἡ δὲ δὴ ἰθεὰ τῶν ὁδῶν τῷ Νεῖλῳ ἐστὶ ἥδε· ἄνωθεν φερόμενος ἐς τὸ ὄξυ τοῦ Δέλτα ἀπικνέεται, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου σχίζων μέσον τὸ Δέλτα ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξιεῖ, οὔτε ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν τοῦ ὕδατος παρεχόμενος ταύτην οὔτε ἥκιστα ὀνομαστήν· τὸ καλεῖται Σεβεννυτικὸν στόμα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερα διφάσια στόματα ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβεννυτικοῦ ἀποσχισθέντα, φέροντα ἐς θάλασσαν· τοῖσι οὐνόματα κέεται· τὰ δὲ, τῷ μὲν Σαΐτικόν αὐτῶν τῷ δὲ Μενδήσιον. τὸ δὲ Βολβίτινον στόμα καὶ τὸ Βουκολικὸν οὐκ ἰθαγενέα στόματα ἐστὶ ἀλλ' ὀρυκτά.

18. Μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι τοσαύτη ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος ὅσῃν τινὰ ἐγὼ ἀποδείκνυμι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ τὸ Ἀμμωνος χρηστήριον γενόμενον· τὸ ἐγὼ τῆς ἐμεωυτοῦ γνώμης ὕστερον περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπυθόμην. οἱ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ Μαρῆς τε πόλιος

Egyptians, even as Cilicia and Assyria are the countries inhabited by Cilicians and Assyrians severally; and we know of no frontier (rightly so called) below Asia and Libya save only the borders of the Egyptians. But if we follow the belief of the Greeks, we shall consider all Egypt, down from the Cataracts and the city Elephantine,<sup>1</sup> to be divided into two parts, and to claim both the names, the one part belonging to Libya and the other to Asia. For the Nile, beginning from the Cataracts, divides Egypt into two parts as it flows to the sea. Now as far as the city Cercasorus the Nile flows in one channel, but after that it parts into three. One of these, which is called the Pelusian mouth, flows eastwards; the second flows westwards, and is called the Canobic mouth. But the direct channel of the Nile, when the river in its downward course reaches the sharp point of the Delta, flows thereafter clean through the middle of the Delta into the sea; in this is seen the greatest and most famous part of its waters, and it is called the Sebennytic mouth. There are also two channels which separate themselves from the Sebennytic and so flow into the sea, by name the Saïtic and the Mendesian. The Bolbitine and Bacolic mouths are not natural but dug channels.

18. My opinion, that the extent of Egypt is such as my argument shows, is attested by the answer which (my judgment being already formed) I heard to have been given concerning Egypt by the oracle of Ammon. The men of the cities of Marea and

<sup>1</sup> On the island opposite Syene (Assuan).

καὶ Ἄπιος, οἰκέοντες Αἰγύπτου τὰ πρόσουρα Λιβύη, αὐτοὶ τε δοκέοντες εἶναι Λίβυες καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ θρησκείῃ, βουλόμενοι θηλέων βοῶν μὴ ἔργεσθαι, ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ἀμμωνα φάμενοι οὐδὲν σφίσι τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι κοινὸν εἶναι· οἰκέειν τε γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμολογέειν αὐτοῖσι, βούλεσθαι τε πάντων σφίσι ἐξεῖναι γεύεσθαι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἔα ποιεῖν ταῦτα, φὰς Αἴγυπτον εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὃ Νεῖλος ἐπιὼν ἄρδει, καὶ Αἰγυπτίους εἶναι τούτους οἱ ἔνερθε Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος οἰκέοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου πίνουσι. οὕτω σφι ταῦτα ἐχρήσθη.

19. Ἐπέρχεται δὲ ὁ Νεῖλος, ἐπεὰν πληθύνῃ, οὐ μόνον τὸ Δέλτα ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ τε λεγομένου χωρίου εἶναι καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου ἐνιαχῇ καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμερέων ἐκατέρωθι ὁδόν, καὶ πλέον ἔτι τούτου καὶ ἔλασσον. τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ φύσιος πέρι οὔτε τι τῶν ἱρέων οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενὸς παραλαβεῖν ἐδυνάσθην. πρόθυμος δὲ ἔα τάδε παρ' αὐτῶν πυθέσθαι, ὃ τι κατέρχεται μὲν ὁ Νεῖλος πληθύνων ἀπὸ τροπέων τῶν θερινέων ἀρξάμενος ἐπὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας, πελάσας δὲ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τουτέων τῶν ἡμερέων ὀπίσω ἀπέρχεται ἀπολείπων τὸ ῥέεθρον, ὥστε βραχὺς τὸν χειμῶνα ἅπαντα διατελεῖ ἐὼν μέχρι οὗ αὐτὶς τροπέων τῶν θερινέων. τούτων ὧν πέρι οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν οἶός τε ἐγενόμην παραλαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἱστορέων αὐτοὺς ἥντινα δύνάμιν ἔχει ὁ Νεῖλος τὰ ἔμπαλιν πεφυκέναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν· ταῦτά τε δὴ τὰ λελεγμένα βουλόμενος εἰδέναί ἱστόρεον καὶ ὃ τι αὔρας ἀποπνεούσας μόνος ποταμῶν πάντων οὐ παρέχεται.



Apis, in the part of Egypt bordering on Libya, thinking themselves to be not Egyptians but Libyans, and misliking the observance of the religious law which forbade them to eat cows' flesh, sent to Ammon saying that they had no part or lot with Egypt: for they dwelt (said they) outside the Delta and did not consent to the ways of its people, and they wished to be suffered to eat of all foods. But the god forbade them: all the land, he said, watered by the Nile in its course was Egypt, and all who dwelt lower down than the city Elephantine and drank of that river's water were Egyptians. Such was the oracle given to them.

19. When the Nile is in flood, it overflows not only the Delta but also the lands called Libyan and Arabian, in places as far as two days' journey from either bank, and sometimes more than this, sometimes less. Concerning its nature, neither from the priests nor from any others could I learn anything. Yet I was zealous to hear from them why it is that the Nile comes down with a rising flood for an hundred days from the summer solstice, and when this tale of days is complete sinks again with a diminishing stream, so that the river is low for the whole winter till the summer solstice again. Concerning this matter none of the Egyptians could tell me anything, when I asked them what power the Nile has to be contrary in nature to all other rivers. Of the matters aforesaid I wished to know, and asked; also why no airs blow from it as from every other stream.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not from the river itself, perhaps; but there is a regular current of air blowing up the valley.

20. Ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων μὲν τινὲς ἐπίσημοι βουλό-  
μενοι γενέσθαι σοφίην ἔλεξαν περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος  
τούτου τριφασίας ὁδοὺς· τῶν τὰς μὲν δύο τῶν  
ὁδῶν οὐδ' ἀξιῶ μνησθῆναι εἰ μὴ ὅσον σημῆναι  
βουλόμενος μῦνον· τῶν ἡ ἑτέρη μὲν λέγει τοὺς  
ἐτησίας ἀνέμους εἶναι αἰτίους πληθύνειν τὸν ποτα-  
μόν, κωλύοντας ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκρέειν τὸν Νεῖλον.  
πολλάκις δὲ ἐτησῖαι μὲν οὐκὼν ἔπνευσαν, ὁ δὲ  
Νεῖλος τῶντὸ ἐργάζεται. πρὸς δέ, εἰ ἐτησῖαι  
αἰτιοὶ ἦσαν, χρὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμούς,  
ὅσοι τοῖσι ἐτησίησι ἀντίοι ῥέουσι, ὁμοίως πᾶσχειν  
καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Νεῖλῳ, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι το-  
σοῦτῳ ὅσῳ ἐλάσσονες ἔοντες ἀσθενέστερα τὰ  
ῥεύματα παρέχονται. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ  
Συρίῃ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, οἳ οὐδὲν  
τοιούτου πᾶσχουσι οἷόν τι καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος.

21. Ἡ δ' ἑτέρα ἀνεπισημονεστέρα μὲν ἐστὶ  
τῆς λελεγμένης, λόγῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν θωμασιωτέρα· ἡ  
λέγει ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ ῥέοντα αὐτὸν ταῦτα  
μηχανᾶσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ὠκεανὸν γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν  
ῥέειν.

22. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ὁδῶν πολλὸν ἐπιεικεστάτη  
ἐοῦσα μάλιστα ἔψευσται· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὐδ' αὕτη  
οὐδέν, φαμένη τὸν Νεῖλον ῥέειν ἀπὸ τηκομένης  
χιόνης· ὃς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης διὰ μέσων Αἰθιο-  
πων, ἐκδίδοι δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. κῶς ὦν δῆτα ῥέοι  
ἂν ἀπὸ χιόνης, ἀπὸ τῶν θερμοτάτων ῥέων ἐς τὰ  
ψυχρότερα τὰ πολλά ἐστι; ἀνδρὶ γε λογίζεσθαι  
τοιούτων πέρι οἷω τε ἔοντι, ὥς οὐδὲ οἶκος ἀπὸ  
χιόνης μιν ῥέειν, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον μαρ-  
τύριον οἳ ἀνεμοὶ παρέχονται πνέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν

20. But some of the Greeks, wishing to be notable for cleverness, put forward three opinions about this river; of which there are two that I would not even mention, save to show only what they are. One of these will have it that the etesian winds<sup>1</sup> are the cause of the rivers being in flood, because they hinder the Nile from flowing out into the sea. But there are many times when the etesian winds do not blow, yet the Nile does the same as before. And further, if the etesian winds were the cause, then the other rivers which flow contrary to those winds should be affected in like manner even as is the Nile, and all the more, inasmuch as being smaller they have a weaker current. Yet there are many rivers in Syria and in Libya, which are nowise in the same case as the Nile.

21. The second opinion is less grounded on knowledge than that afore-mentioned, though it is more marvellous to the ear: by it, the river effects what it does because it flows from the Ocean, which flows round all the world.

22. The third opinion is the most plausible by far, yet is of all the most in error. It has no more truth in it than the others. According to this, the Nile flows from where snows melt; but it flows from Libya through the midst of Ethiopia, and issues out into Egypt; how then can it flow from snow, seeing that it comes from the hottest places to lands that are for the most part colder? nay, a man who can reason about such matters will find his chief proof, that there is no likelihood of the river's flowing from snow, in this—that the winds blowing from Libya and

<sup>1</sup> The regular N.W. winds which blow in summer from the Mediterranean.

χωρέων τουτέων θερμοί· δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ἄνομβρος ἢ χώρα καὶ ἀκρύσταλλος διατελέει ἐοῦσα, ἐπὶ δὲ χιόνι πεσούσῃ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ὑσαι ἐν πέντε ἡμέρῃσι, ὥστε, εἰ ἐχιόνιζε, ὕετο ἂν ταῦτα τὰ χωρία· τρίτα δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος μέλανες ἐόντες. ἰκτῖνοι δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες δι' ἔτεος ἐόντες οὐκ ἀπολείπουσι, γέραναι δὲ φεύγουσαι τὸν χειμῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ χώρῃ γινόμενον φοιτῶσι ἐς χειμασίην ἐς τοὺς τόπους τούτους. εἰ τοίνυν ἐχιόνιζε καὶ ὅσον ὦν ταύτην τὴν χώραν δι' ἧς τε ῥέει καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχεται ῥέων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἦν ἂν τούτων οὐδέν, ὥς ἡ ἀνάγκη ἐλέγχει.

23. Ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ λέξας ἐς ἀφανὲς τὸν μῦθον ἀνερείκας οὐκ ἔχει ἐλεγχον· οὐ γὰρ τινὰ ἔγωγε οἶδα ποταμὸν Ὀκεανὸν ἔοντα, Ὀμηρον δὲ ἢ τινὰ τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ποιητέων δοκέω τὸ οὐνομα εὐρόντα ἐς ποίησιν ἐσενείκασθαι.

24. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μεμψάμενον γνώμας τὰς προκειμένας αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν ἀφανέων γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι, φράσω δι' ὃ τι μοι δοκεῖ πληθύνεσθαι ὁ Νεῖλος τοῦ θέρεος· τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥρην ἀπελαινόμενος ὁ ἥλιος ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίης διεξόδου ὑπὸ τῶν χειμῶνων ἔρχεται τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω. ὥς μὲν νυν ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ δηλῶσαι, πᾶν εἴρηται· τῆς γὰρ ἂν ἀγχοτάτω τε ἢ χώρας οὗτος ὁ θεὸς καὶ κατὰ ἦντινα, ταύτην οἶκος διψῇν τε ὑδάτων μάλιστα καὶ τὰ ἐγγχώρια ρεύματα μαραίνεισθαι τῶν ποταμῶν.

25. Ὡς δὲ ἐν πλείονι λόγῳ δηλῶσαι, ὧδε ἔχει. διεξιὼν τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω ὁ ἥλιος τάδε ποιεῖ· ἅτε διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου αἰθρίου τε ἐόντος τοῦ



Ethiopia are hot. And the second proof is, that the country is ever without rain and frost ; but after snow has fallen there must needs be rain within five days ;<sup>1</sup> so that were there snow there would be rain in these lands. And the third proof is, that the men of the country are black by reason of the heat. Moreover, kites and swallows live there all the year round, and cranes, flying from the wintry weather of Scythia, come every year to these places to winter there. Now, were there but the least fall of snow in this country through which the Nile flows and whence it rises, none of these things would happen, as necessity proves.

23. The opinion about the Ocean is grounded in obscurity and needs no disproof ; for I know of no river of Ocean ; and I suppose that Homer or some older poet invented this name and brought it into his poetry.

24. If, having condemned the opinions proposed, I must now set forth what I myself think about these obscure matters, I will show what I suppose to be the cause of the Nile being in flood in the summer. During the winter the sun is driven by the storms from his customary course and passes over the inland parts of Libya. Now to make the shortest conclusion, that is all that need be said ; for to whatever country this god is nearest, or over it, it is to be thought that that land is the thirstiest and that the rivers in it are diminished.

25. But stated at greater length, the truth is as I shall show. In his passage over the inland parts of Libya—the air being ever clear in that region, the

<sup>1</sup> It does not seem to be known what authority there is for this assertion.

ἡέρος τοῦ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ ἀλεεινῆς τῆς  
 χώρας εἰούσης καὶ ἀνέμων ψυχρῶν, διεξιὼν ποιεῖ  
 οἶόν περ καὶ τὸ θέρος ἔωθε ποιεῖν ἰὼν τὸ μέσον  
 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· ἔλκει γὰρ ἐπ' ἐωυτὸν τὸ ὕδωρ,  
 ἐλκύσας δὲ ἀπωθέει ἐς τὰ ἄνω χωρία, ὑπολαμβά-  
 νοντες δὲ οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ διασκιδνάντες τήκουσι  
 καὶ εἰσὶ οἰκότως οἱ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρας  
 πνέοντες, ὃ τε νότος καὶ ὁ λίψ, ἀνέμων πολλὸν  
 τῶν πάντων ὑετιώτατοι. δοκεῖ δέ μοι οὐδὲ πᾶν  
 τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπέτεον ἐκάστοτε ἀποπέμπεσθαι τοῦ  
 Νείλου ὁ ἥλιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπολείπεσθαι περὶ  
 ἐωυτόν. πρηϋνομένου δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀπέρχεται ὁ  
 ἥλιος ἐς μέσον τὸν οὐρανὸν ὀπίσω, καὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν  
 ἤδη ὁμοίως ἀπὸ πάντων ἔλκει τῶν ποταμῶν. τέως  
 δὲ οἱ μὲν ὀμβρίου ὕδατος συμμισγομένου πολλοῦ  
 αὐτοῖσι, ἅτε ὑομένης τε τῆς χώρας καὶ κεχαρα-  
 δρωμένης, ῥέουσι μεγάλοι· τοῦ δὲ θέρεος τῶν τε  
 ὀμβρων ἐπιλειπόντων αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου  
 ἐλκόμενοι ἀσθενέες εἰσὶ. ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος ἐὼν ἀνομ-  
 βρος, ἐλκόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μῦνος πο-  
 ταμῶν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, οἰκότως αὐτὸς ἐωυτοῦ  
 ῥέει πολλῷ ὑποδεέστερος ἢ τοῦ θέρεος· τότε μὲν  
 γὰρ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑδάτων ἴσον ἔλκεται, τὸν  
 δὲ χειμῶνα μῦνος πιέζεται.

26. Οὕτω τὸν ἥλιον νενόμικα τούτων αἰτίων  
 εἶναι. αἰτίος δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος κατὰ γνώμην τὴν  
 ἐμὴν καὶ τὸν ἡέρα ξηρὸν τὸν ταύτῃ εἶναι, διακαίῳ  
 τὴν διέξοδον ἐωυτοῦ· οὕτω τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω  
 θέρος αἰεὶ κατέχει. εἰ δὲ ἡ στάσις ἡλλακτο τῶν  
 ὥρέων, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῇ μὲν νῦν ὁ βορέης τε  
 καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐστάσι, ταύτῃ μὲν τοῦ νότου ἦν ἡ  
 στάσις καὶ τῆς μεσαμβρίας, τῇ δὲ ὁ νότος νῦν

land warm and the winds cool—the sun does what he was wont to do in the summer in passing through the middle of the heaven: he draws the water to himself, and having so drawn it, expels it away to the inland regions, and the winds catch it and scatter and dissolve it; and, as is to be supposed, those that blow from that country, the south and the south-west, are the most rainy of all winds. Yet I think that the sun never lets go all the water that he yearly draws up from the Nile, but keeps some back near to himself. Then as the winter becomes milder, the sun returns back to the middle of the heaven, and after that he draws from all rivers alike. Meantime the other rivers are swollen to high flood by the much water from the sky that falls into them, because the country is rained upon and cut into gullies; but in the summer they are low, lacking the rain and being drawn up too by the sun. But the Nile being fed by no rain, and being the only river in winter drawn up by the sun, at this time falls far short of the height that he had in summer; which is but natural; for in summer all other waters too and not his alone are attracted to the sun, but in the winter it is he alone who is afflicted.

26. I am persuaded therefore that the sun is the cause of these matters. The dryness of the air in these parts is also caused by the sun, to my thinking, because he burns his passage through it; so it is that it is always summer in the inland part of Libya. But were the stations of the seasons changed, so that the south wind and the summer had their station where now the north wind and winter are set, and the north wind was where the south wind is

ἔστηκε, ταύτη δὲ ὁ βορέης, εἰ ταῦτα οὕτω εἶχε, ὁ ἥλιος ἂν ἀπελαυνόμενος ἐκ μέσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ βορέω ἦε ἂν τὰ ἄνω τῆς Εὐρώπης κατὰ περ νῦν τῆς Λιβύης ἔρχεται, διεξιόντα δ' ἂν μιν διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης ἔλπομαι ποιεῖν ἂν τὸν Ἰστρον τὰ περ νῦν ἐργάζεται τὸν Νεῖλον.

27. Τῆς αὖρης δὲ πέρι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀποπνέει, τήνδε ἔχω γνώμην, ὥς κάρτα ἀπὸ θερμῶν χωρέων οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι οὐδὲν ἀποπνέειν, αὖρη δὲ ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ τινος φιλέει πνέειν.

28. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἔστω ὥς ἐστι τε καὶ ὥς ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο· τοῦ δὲ Νεῖλου τὰς πηγὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε Λιβύων οὔτε Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἀπικομένων ἐς λόγους οὐδεὶς ὑπέσχετο εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Σαί πόλει ὁ γραμματιστής τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης. οὗτος δ' ἐμοιγε παίζειν ἐδόκεε φάμενος εἰδέναι ἀτρεκέως· ἔλεγε δὲ ὧδε, εἶναι δύο ὄρεα ἐς ὃξὺ τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπηγμένα, μεταξὺ Συήνης τε πόλιος κείμενα τῆς Θηβαίδος καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης, οὐνόματα δὲ εἶναι τοῖσι ὄρεσι τῷ μὲν Κρῶφι τῷ δὲ Μῶφι· τὰς ὧν δὴ πηγὰς τοῦ Νεῖλου εἰσὺν ἀβύσσους ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τῶν ὀρέων τούτων ῥέειν, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ῥέειν καὶ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἡμισυ ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ νότου. ὥς δὲ ἄβυσσοι εἰσὶ αἱ πηγαί, ἐς διάπειραν ἔφη τούτου Ψαμμήτιχον Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἀπικέσθαι πολλῶν γὰρ αὐτὸν χιλιάδων ὀργυιῶν πλεξάμενον κάλον κατεῖναι ταύτη καὶ οὐκ ἐξικέσθαι ἐς βυσσόν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ γραμματιστής, εἰ ἄρα ταῦτα γινόμενα ἔλεγε, ἀπέφαινε, ὥς ἐμὲ κατανοεῖν, δίνας



now,—if this were so, the sun when driven from mid-heaven by the winter and the north wind would pass over the inland parts of Europe as he now passes over Libya, and I think that in his passage over all Europe he would work the same effect on the Ister as he now does on the Nile.

27. And for the reason why no air blows from the river, this is my opinion: it is not natural that any air blow from very hot places; airs ever come from that which is very cold.

28. Be these matters, then, as they are and as they were made to be in the beginning. But as to the sources of the Nile, none that conversed with me, neither Egyptian, nor Libyan, nor Greek, professed to know them, except only the recorder of the sacred treasures of Athene in the Egyptian city of Sais. He, I thought, jested with me when he said that he had exact knowledge; but this was his story:—Between the city of Syene in the Thebaid and Elephantine there are two hills with sharp peaks, the one called Crophî and the other Mophî. The springs of the Nile, which are unfathomed, rise between these hills; and half the water flows towards Egypt northwards, the other half southwards towards Ethiopia. That this source cannot be fathomed, Psammetichus king of Egypt proved by experiment: for he had a rope woven of many a thousand fathoms' length and let down into the spring, but he could not reach to the bottom. Thus, then, if the recorder spoke truth, he showed, as I think, that here are

τινὰς ταύτῃ εἰούσας ἰσχυρὰς καὶ παλιρροίην, οἷα δὲ ἐμβάλλοντος τοῦ ὕδατος τοῖσι ὄρεσι, μὴ δύνασθαι κατιεμένην καταπειρητηρίην ἐς βυσσὸν ἵεναι.

29. Ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν ἐδυνάμην πυθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοσόνδε μὲν ἄλλο ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπυθόμην, μέχρι μὲν Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόπτης ἐλθών, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀκοῇ ἤδη ἱστορέων. ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι ἄναπτες ἐστὶ χωρίον· ταύτῃ ὧν δεῖ τὸ πλοῖον διαδήσαντας ἀμφοτέρωθεν κατὰ περ βοῦν πορεύεσθαι· ἦν δὲ ἀπορραγῇ τὸ πλοῖον οἴχεται φερόμενον ὑπὸ ἰσχύος τοῦ ῥοῦ. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἡμέρας τέσσερας πλόος, σκολιὸς δὲ ταύτῃ κατὰ περ ὁ Μαίανδρος ἐστὶ ὁ Νεῖλος· σχοῖνοι δὲ δυνώδεκα εἰσὶ οὗτοι τοὺς δεῖ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διεκπλώσαι. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπίξαι ἐς πεδίον λεῖον, ἐν τῷ νῆσον περιρρέει ὁ Νεῖλος. Ταχομψὼ οὖνομα αὐτῇ ἐστὶ. οἰκέουσι δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἄνω Αἰθίοπες ἤδη καὶ τῆς νήσου τὸ ἡμισυ, τὸ δὲ ἡμισυ Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔχεται δὲ τῆς νήσου λίμνη μεγάλη, τὴν περίξ νομάδες Αἰθίοπες νέμονται· τὴν διεκπλώσας ἐς τοῦ Νεῖλου τὸ ῥέεθρον ἤξει, τὸ ἐς τὴν λίμνην ταύτην ἐκδιδού. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβάς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὁδοιπορίην ποιήσας ἡμερέων τεσσαράκοντα· σκόπελοί τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Νεῖλῳ ὀξέες ἀνέχουσι καὶ χοιράδες πολλαὶ εἰσι, δι' ὧν οὐκ οἷά τε ἐστὶ πλέειν. διεξελθὼν δὲ ἐν τῇσι τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρῃσι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, αὐτὶς ἐς ἕτερον πλοῖον ἐσβάς δυνώδεκα ἡμέρας πλεύσας, καὶ ἔπειτα ἤξει ἐς πόλιν μεγάλην τῇ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Μερὸν λέγεται δὲ αὕτη ἡ πόλις εἶναι μητρόπολις τῶν ἄλλων

strong eddies and an upward flow of water, and the rushing of the stream against the hills makes the sounding-line when let down unable to reach the bottom.

29. From no other man could I learn anything. But this much I learnt by the farthest inquiry that I could make, by my own travel and sight as far as the city of Elephantine, and beyond that by question and hearsay:—Beyond Elephantine, as one travels inland, the land rises. Here one must pass with the boat roped on both sides as men harness an ox; and if the rope break, the boat is carried away by the strength of the current. This part of the river is a four days' journey by boat, and the Nile here is winding like the Maeander; a length of twelve schoeni must be passed in the aforesaid fashion. After that you will come to a level plain, where there is an island in the Nile, called Tachompso. Above Elephantine the country now begins to be inhabited by Ethiopians, and half the people of the island are Ethiopians and half Egyptians. Near to the island is a great lake, on the shores of which dwell nomad Ethiopians. Having crossed this, you will come to the stream of the Nile, which issues into this lake. Then you will disembark and journey along the river bank for forty days; for there are sharp projecting rocks in the Nile and many reefs, through which no boat can pass. Having traversed this part in forty days as I have said, you will take boat again and so travel for twelve days till you come to a great city called Meroe, which is said to be the capital of all Ethiopia. The

Αἰθιοπῶν. οἱ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ Δία θεῶν καὶ Διόνυσον μούρους σέβονται, τούτους τε μεγάλως τιμῶσι, καὶ σφι μαντήιον Διὸς κατέστηκε· στρατεύονται δὲ ἐπεὶ σφεας ὁ θεὸς οὗτος κελεύῃ διὰ θεσπισμάτων, καὶ τῇ αὖ κελεύῃ, ἐκείσε.

30. Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλέων ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ ἄλλῳ ἤξεις ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐν ὅσῳ περ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἦλθες ἐς τὴν μητρόπολιν τὴν Αἰθιοπῶν. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτομόλοισι τούτοις οὖνομα ἐστὶ Ἀσμάχ, δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν οἱ ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς παριστάμενοι βασιλεί. ἀπέστησαν δὲ αὐταὶ τέσσερες καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες Αἰγυπτίων τῶν μαχίμων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθιοπᾶς τούτους δι' αἰτίην τοιήνδε. ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχῳ βασιλέος φυλακαὶ κατέστησαν ἐν τε Ἐλεφαντίνῃ πόλει πρὸς Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι τῇσι Πηλουσίῃσι ἄλλῃ πρὸς Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ ἐν Μαρῇ πρὸς Λιβύης ἄλλῃ. ἔτι δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ καὶ Περσέων κατὰ ταῦτα αἱ φυλακαὶ ἔχουσι ὥς καὶ ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχῳ ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνῃ Πέρσαι φρουρέουσι καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι. τοὺς ὦν δὴ Αἰγυπτίους τρία ἔτεα φρουρήσαντας ἀπέλυε οὐδεὶς τῆς φρουρῆς· οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι καὶ κοινῇ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ψαμμητίχου ἀποστάντες ἦσαν ἐς Αἰθιοπίην. Ψαμμητίχος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐδίωκε· ὥς δὲ κατέλαβε, ἐδέετο πολλὰ λέγων καὶ σφεας θεοὺς πατρώιους ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ ἔα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας. τῶν δὲ τινὰ λέγεται δέξαντα τὸ αἰδοῖον

<sup>1</sup> The Greek equivalents for Amun and Osiris.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus' account of the Nile in this chapter is for the most part vague and untrustworthy. He is right as to the



people of the place worship no other gods but Zeus and Dionysus<sup>1</sup>; these they greatly honour, and they have a place of divination sacred to Zeus; they send out armies whenever and whithersoever this god by oracle commands them.<sup>2</sup>

30. From this city you will make a journey by water of equal distance with that by which you came from Elephantine to the capital city of Ethiopia, and you will come to the land of the Deserters. These Deserters are called Asmach, which signifies, in our language, those who stand on the left hand of the king. These once, to the number of two hundred and forty thousand Egyptians of fighting age, revolted and joined themselves to the Ethiopians. The reason was this:—In the reign of Psammetichus there were garrisons posted at Elephantine on the side of Ethiopia, at Daphnae of Pelusium on the side of Arabia and Assyria, and at Marea on the side of Libya. And still in my time the Persians hold these posts as they were held in the days of Psammetichus; there are Persian guards at Elephantine and at Daphnae. Now the Egyptians had been on guard for three years, and none came to relieve them; so taking counsel and making common cause, they revolted from Psammetichus and went to Ethiopia. Psammetichus heard of it and pursued after them; and when he overtook them he besought them with many words not to desert the gods of their fathers and their children and wives. Then one of them, so the story goes, said, pointing to his manly part,

current above Elephantine, as those who have made the passage between the Assuan Dam and Assuan will realise. But the conditions have of course been entirely altered by the construction of the dam.

εἰπεῖν, ἔνθα ἂν τοῦτο ᾗ, ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι ἐνθαῦτα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας. οὗτοι ἐπεῖτε ἐς Αἰθιοπίην ἀπίκοντο, διδοῦσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλεί, ὃ δὲ σφέας τῷδε ἀντιδωρέεται· ἥσαν οἱ διάφοροι τινὲς γεγονότες τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν· τούτους ἐκέλευε ἐξελόντας τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν οἰκέειν. τούτων δὲ ἐσοικισθέντων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθιοπας ἡμερώτεροι γεγόνασι Αἰθιοπες, ἥθεα μαθόντες Αἰγύπτια.

31. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τεσσέρων μηνῶν πλόου καὶ ὁδοῦ γινώσκεται ὁ Νεῖλος πάρεξ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ρεύματος· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ συμβαλλομένῳ μῆνες εὐρίσκονται ἀναισιμουμενοι ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πορευομένῳ ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους τούτους. ῥέει δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης τε καὶ ἡλίου δυσμέων. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐδεὶς ἔχει σαφέως φράσαι· ἔρημος γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ χώρα αὕτη ὑπὸ καύματος.

32. Ἄλλὰ τάδε μὲν ἤκουσα ἀνδρῶν Κυρηναίων φαμένων ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμμωνος χρηστήριον καὶ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λόγους Ἐτεάρχῳ τῷ Ἀμμωνίων βασιλεί, καὶ κως ἐκ λόγων ἄλλων ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λέσχην περὶ τοῦ Νείλου, ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ οἶδε τὰς πηγὰς, καὶ τὸν Ἐτεάρχον φάναι ἐλθεῖν κοτε παρ' αὐτὸν Νασαμῶνας ἀνδρας. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν Λιβυκόν, νέμεται δὲ τὴν Σύρτιν τε καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡῷ χώρην τῆς Σύρτιος οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλόν. ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Νασαμῶνας καὶ εἰρωτωμένους εἴ τι ἔχουσι πλεόν λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἐρήμων τῆς Λιβύης, φάναι παρὰ σφίσι γενέσθαι ἀνδρῶν δυναστέων παῖδας ὕβριστάς, τοὺς ἄλλα τε μηχανᾶσθαι ἀνδρωθέντας περισσὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀποκληρῶσαι πέντε ἑωυτῶν ὀψομένους τὰ ἔρημα τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ εἴ τι πλεόν ἴδοιεν τῶν τὰ μακρότατα ἰδομένων.

that wherever this should be they would have wives and children. So they came to Ethiopia, and gave themselves up to the king of the country; who, to make them a gift in return, bade them dispossess certain Ethiopians with whom he was at feud, and occupy their land. These Ethiopians then learnt Egyptian customs and have become milder-mannered by intermixture with the Egyptians.

31. For as far as a distance of four months' travel, then, by land and water, there is knowledge of the Nile, besides the part of it that is in Egypt. So many months, as reckoning shows, lasts the journey from Elephantine to the country of the Deserters aforesaid. The river flows from the west and the sun's setting. Beyond this none has clear knowledge to declare; for all that country is desert, by reason of heat.

32. But this I heard from certain men of Cyrene, who told me that they had gone to the oracle of Ammon, and there conversed with Etearchus king of the Ammonians, and that from other matters of discourse they came to speak of the Nile, how no one knows the source of it. Then Etearchus told them that once he had been visited by certain Nasamonians. These are a Libyan people, inhabiting the country of the Syrtis and the country a little way to the east of the Syrtis. When these Nasamonians on their coming were questioned if they brought any news concerning the Libyan desert, they told Etearchus that there had been among them certain sons of their chief men, proud and violent youths, who, when they came to man's estate, besides planning other wild adventures, had chosen by lot five of their company to visit the deserts of Libya, and see what they might beyond the utmost range of travellers. It must be known

τῆς γὰρ Λιβύης τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βορρῆην θάλασσαν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι Σολόεντος ἄκρης, ἣ τελευταῖα τῆς Λιβύης, παρήκουσι παρὰ πᾶσαν Λίβυνες καὶ Λιβύων ἔθνηα πολλά, πλὴν ὅσον Ἑλληνες καὶ Φοίνικες ἔχουσι· τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης τε καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατηκόντων ἀνθρώπων, τὰ κατύπερθε θηριώδης ἐστὶ ἡ Λιβύη· τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε τῆς θηριώδεος ψάμμος τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνὺδρος δεινῶς καὶ ἔρημος πάντων. εἶπαι ὦν τοὺς νεηνίας ἀποπεμπομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡλίκων, ὕδασί τε καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐξηρτυμένους, ἰέναι τὰ πρῶτα μὲν διὰ τῆς οἰκεομένης, ταύτην δὲ διεξελθόντας ἐς τὴν θηριώδεα ἀπικέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τὴν ἔρημον διεξιέναι, τὴν ὁδὸν ποιευμένους πρὸς ζέφυρον ἀνεμον, διεξελθόντας δὲ χῶρον πολλὸν ψαμμώδεα καὶ ἐν πολλῇσι ἡμέρησι ἰδεῖν δὴ κοτε δένδρεα ἐν πεδίῳ πεφυκότα, καὶ σφέας προσελθόντας ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ ἐπεόντος ἐπὶ τῶν δενδρέων καρποῦ, ἀπτομένοισι δὲ σφί ἐπελθεῖν ἀνδρας μικροὺς, μετρίων ἐλάσσονας ἀνδρῶν, λαβόντας δὲ ἄγειν σφέας· φωνῆς δὲ οὔτε τι τῆς ἐκείνων τοὺς Νασαμώνας γινώσκειν οὔτε τοὺς ἄγοντας τῶν Νασαμώνων· ἄγειν τε δὴ αὐτοὺς δι' ἐλέων μεγίστων, καὶ διεξελθόντας ταῦτα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς πόλιν ἐν τῇ πάντα εἶναι τοῖσι ἄγουσι τὸ μέγαθος ἴσους, χρῶμα δὲ μέλανας. παρὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ῥέειν ποταμὸν μέγαν, ῥέειν δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης αὐτὸν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, φαίνεσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κροκοδείλους.

33. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου Ἐτεάρχου λόγος ἐς τοῦτό μοι δεδηλώσθω, πλὴν ὅτι ἀπονοστήσαί τε ἔφασκε τοὺς Νασαμώνας, ὥς οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἔλεγον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς οὗτοι ἀπίκοντο ἀνθρώπους, γόητας εἶναι



that all the northern seacoast of Libya—from Egypt as far as the promontory of Soloeis, which is the end of Libya—is inhabited through its whole length by Libyans, many tribes of them, except the part held by Greeks and Phoenicians; the region of Libya above the sea and the men of the seacoast is infested by wild beasts; and farther inland than the wild-beast country all is sand, exceeding waterless and wholly desert. This then was the story told by the young men:—When they left their companions, being well supplied with water and provisions, they journeyed first through the inhabited country, and having passed this they came to the region of wild beasts. After this, they travelled over the desert, towards the west, and crossed a wide sandy region, till after many days they saw trees growing in a plain; when they came to these and were plucking the fruit of the trees, they were met by little men of stature smaller than common, who took them and led them away. The Nasamonians did not know these men's language nor did the escort know the language of the Nasamonians. The men led them across great marshes, which having crossed they came to a city where all the people were of like stature with the escort, and black. A great river ran past this city, from the west towards the rising sun; crocodiles could be seen in it.

33. This is enough to say concerning the story told by Etearchus the Ammonian; except that he said that the Nasamonians returned—as the men of Cyrene told me—and that the people to whose

ἅπαντας. τὸν δὲ δὴ ποταμὸν τοῦτον τὸν παραρ-  
 ρέοντα καὶ Ἐτέαρχος συνεβάλλετο εἶναι Νεῖλον,  
 καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτω αἰρέει. ῥέει γὰρ ἐκ  
 Λιβύης ὁ Νεῖλος καὶ μέσσην τάμνων Λιβύην, καὶ  
 ὡς ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι τοῖσι ἐμφανέσι τὰ μὴ  
 γινωσκόμενα τεκμαιρόμενος, τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκ τῶν  
 ἰσῶν μέτρων ὁρμάται. Ἰστρος τε γὰρ ποταμὸς  
 ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Πυρήνης πόλιος ῥέει  
 μέσσην σχίζων τὴν Εὐρώπην· οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ εἰσὶ  
 ἔξω Ἑρακλέων στηλέων, ὁμοურέουσι δὲ Κυνη-  
 σίοισι, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς δυσμέων οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν  
 τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένων· τελευτᾷ δὲ ὁ Ἰστρος ἐς  
 θάλασσαν ῥέων τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου διὰ πά-  
 σης Εὐρώπης, τῇ Ἰστρίῃν οἱ Μιλησίων οἰκέουσι  
 ἄποικοι.

34. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἰστρος, ῥέει γὰρ δι' οἰκεομένης,  
 πρὸς πολλῶν γινώσκεται, περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Νεῖλου  
 πηγέων οὐδεὶς ἔχει λέγειν· ἀοίκητός τε γὰρ καὶ  
 ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἡ Λιβύη δι' ἧς ῥέει. περὶ δὲ τοῦ  
 ρεύματος αὐτοῦ, ἐπ' ὅσον μακρότατον ἱστορεῦντα  
 ἦν ἐξικέσθαι, εἴρηται· ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον.  
 ἡ δὲ Αἴγυπτος τῆς ὀρεινῆς Κιλικίης μάλιστα κη  
 ἀντίη κέεται· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Σινώπην τὴν ἐν τῷ  
 Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ πέντε ἡμερέων ἰθέα ὁδὸς εὐζώνῳ  
 ἀνδρί· ἡ δὲ Σινώπη τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκδιδόντι ἐς θάλασ-  
 σαν ἀντίον κέεται. οὕτω τὸν Νεῖλον δοκέω διὰ  
 πάσης τῆς Λιβύης διεξιόντα ἐξισοῦσθαι τῷ Ἰστρῷ.

35. Νεῖλου μὲν νυν πέρι τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω·  
 ἔρχομαι δὲ περὶ Αἰγύπτου μηχανέων τὸν λόγον, ὅτι  
 πλεῖστα θωμάσια ἔχει ἡ ἢ ἄλλη πᾶσα χώρα καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐκ τῶν ἰσῶν μέτρων is an obscure expression. What Hdt. appears to mean is, that as the Nile (according to him)

country they came were all wizards; as to the river that ran past the city, Etearchus guessed it to be the Nile; and that is but reasonable. For the Nile flows from Libya, and right through the midst of that country; and as I guess, reasoning as to things unknown from visible signs, it takes its rise from the same measure of distance as the Ister.<sup>1</sup> That river flows from the land of the Celtae and the city of Pyrene through the very midst of Europe; now the Celtae dwell beyond the pillars of Heracles, being neighbours of the Cynesii, who are the westernmost of all nations inhabiting Europe. The Ister, then, flows clean across Europe and ends its course in the Euxine sea, at Istria, which is inhabited by Milesian colonists.

34. As it flows through inhabited country, its course is known to many; but none can speak of the source of the Nile; for Libya, through which it runs, is uninhabited and desert. Concerning its course I have told all that I could learn by inquiry; and it issues into Egypt. Now Egypt lies about opposite to the mountainous part of Cilicia; whence it is a straight five days' journey for an unburdened man to Sinope on the Euxine; and Sinope lies over against the place where the Ister falls into the sea. Thus I suppose the course of the Nile in its passage through Libya to be like the course of the Ister.

35. It is sufficient to say thus much concerning the Nile. But concerning Egypt I will now speak at length, because nowhere are there so many marvellous things, nor in the whole world beside are there to flows first from W. to E. and then turns northward, so the Danube flows first from W. to E. and then (as he says) from N. to S.; and so the rivers in a manner correspond: one crosses Africa, the other Europe.

ἔργα λόγου μέζω παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσαν χώραν. τούτων εἵνεκα πλέω περὶ αὐτῆς εἰρήσεται.

Αἰγύπτιοι ἅμα τῷ οὐρανῷ τῷ κατὰ σφέας ἔοντι ἑτεροίῳ καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ φύσιν ἀλλοίην παρεχομένῳ ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἔμπαλιν τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἐστήσαντο ἥθεά τε καὶ νόμους· ἐν τοῖσι αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἀγοράζουσι καὶ καπηλεύουσι, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατ' οἴκους ἔοντες ὑφαίνουσι· ὑφαίνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνω τὴν κρόκην ὠθέοντες, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ κάτω. τὰ ἄχθεια οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν φορέουσι, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων. οὐρέουσι αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ὀρθαί, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατήμενοι. εὐμαρείῃ χρέωνται ἐν τοῖσι οἴκοις, ἐσθίουσι δὲ ἔξω ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖς ἐπιλέγοντες ὥς τὰ μὲν αἰσχροῦ ἀναγκαῖα δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἐστὶ ποιέειν χρεόν, τὰ δὲ μὴ αἰσχροῦ ἀναφανδόν. ἱρᾶται γυνὴ μὲν οὐδεμία οὔτε ἔρσηνος θεοῦ οὔτε θηλέης, ἄνδρες δὲ πάντων τε καὶ πασῶν. τρέφειν τοὺς τοκέας τοῖσι μὲν παισὶ οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη μὴ βουλομένοις, τῇσι δὲ θυγατράσι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ μὴ βουλομένησι.

36. Οἱ ἱρέες τῶν θεῶν τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κομέουσι, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ ξυρῶνται. τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις νόμος ἅμα κῆδεϊ κεκάρθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς τοὺς μαλιστα ἱκνέεται, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς θανάτους ἀνιείσι τὰς τρίχας αὐξέσθαι τὰς τε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῷ γενεῖῳ, τέως ἐξυρῆμένοι. τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις χωρὶς θηρίων ἡ δίαίτα ἀποκέκριται, Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ὁμοῦ θηρίοις ἡ δίαίτα ἐστί. ἀπὸ πυρῶν καὶ κριθέων ὅλλοι ζῶουσι, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῷ ποιευμένῳ ἀπὸ τούτων τὴν ζῆν ὄνειδος μέγιστον ἐστί, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ὀλυρέων ποιεῦνται σιτία,



be seen so many works of unspeakable greatness; therefore I shall say the more concerning Egypt.

As the Egyptians have a climate peculiar to themselves, and their river is different in its nature from all other rivers, so have they made all their customs and laws of a kind contrary for the most part to those of all other men. Among them, the women buy and sell, the men abide at home and weave; and whereas in weaving all others push the woof upwards, the Egyptians push it downwards. Men carry burdens on their heads, women on their shoulders. Women make water standing, men sitting. They relieve nature indoors, and eat out of doors in the streets, giving the reason, that things unseemly but necessary should be done in secret, things not unseemly should be done openly. No woman is dedicated to the service of any god or goddess; men are dedicated to all deities male or female. Sons are not compelled against their will to support their parents, but daughters must do so though they be unwilling.

36. Everywhere else, priests of the gods wear their hair long; in Egypt they are shaven. With all other men, in mourning for the dead those most nearly concerned have their heads shaven; Egyptians are shaven at other times, but after a death they let their hair and beard grow. The Egyptians are the only people who keep their animals with them in the house. Whereas all others live on wheat and barley, it is the greatest disgrace for an Egyptian so to live; they make food from a coarse grain which some call

τὰς ζειὰς μετεξέτεροι καλέουσι. φυρῶσι τὸ μὲν σταῖς τοῖσι ποσί, τὸν δὲ πηλὸν τῇσι χερσί, καὶ τὴν κόπρον ἀναιρέονται. τὰ αἰδοῖα ἄλλοι μὲν ἐῷσι ὥς ἐγένοντο, πλὴν ὅσοι ἀπὸ τούτων ἔμαθον. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ περιτάμνονται. εἴματα τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστος ἔχει δύο, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἓν ἐκάστη. τῶν ἰστίων τοὺς κρίκους καὶ τοὺς κάλους οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἔξωθεν προσδέουσι, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἔσωθεν. γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψήφοισι "Ελληνες μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά· καὶ ποιεῦντες ταῦτα αὐτοὶ μὲν φασὶ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ποιέειν, "Ελληνας δὲ ἐπ' ἀριστερά. διφασίοισι δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἰρὰ τὰ δὲ δημοτικὰ καλέεται.

37. Θεοσεβείες δὲ περισσῶς ἔοντες μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμοισι τοιοῖσινδε χρέωνται. ἐκ χαλκῶν ποτηρίων πίνουσι, διασμώντες ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, οὐκ ὃ μὲν ὃ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντες. εἴματα δὲ λίνεα φορέουσι αἰεὶ νεόπλυτα, ἐπιτηδεύοντες τοῦτο μάλιστα, τὰ τε αἰδοῖα περιτάμνονται καθαριότητος εἵνεκεν, προτιμῶντες καθαροὶ εἶναι ἢ εὐπρεπέστεροι. οἱ δὲ ἱρέες ξυρῶνται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρης, ἵνα μήτε φθεῖρ μήτε ἄλλο μυσαρὸν μηδὲν ἐγγίνηται σφί θεραπεύουσι τοὺς θεούς. ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἱ ἱρέες λινὴν μούνην καὶ ὑποδήματα βύβλινα· ἄλλην δὲ σφί ἐσθῆτα οὐκ ἔξεστι λαβεῖν οὐδὲ ὑποδήματα ἄλλα. λούνται δὲ δις τῆς ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ψυχρῷ καὶ δις ἐκάστης νυκτός, ἄλλας τε θρησκείας ἐπιτελέουσι μυρίας ὥς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. πάσχουσι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀλίγα· οὔτε τι γὰρ

spelt. They knead dough with their feet, and gather mud and dung with their hands. The Egyptians and those who have learnt it from them are the only people who practise circumcision. Every man has two garments, every woman only one. The rings and sheets of sails are made fast elsewhere outside the boat, but inside it in Egypt. The Greeks write and calculate by moving the hand from left to right; the Egyptians do contrariwise; yet they say that their way of writing is towards the right, and the Greek way towards the left. They use two kinds of writing; one is called sacred, the other common.<sup>1</sup>

37. They are beyond measure religious, more than any other nation; and these are among their customs:—They drink from cups of bronze, which they cleanse out daily; this is done not by some but by all. They are especially careful ever to wear newly-washed linen raiment. They practise circumcision for cleanliness' sake; for they set cleanness above seemliness. Their priests shave the whole body every other day, that no lice or aught else that is foul may infest them in their service of the gods. The priests wear a single linen garment and sandals of papyrus<sup>2</sup>: they may take no other kind of clothing or footwear. Twice a day and twice every night they wash in cold water. Their religious observances are, one may say, innumerable. But also they receive many benefits: they neither consume nor spend aught of

<sup>1</sup> Three kinds, really: hieroglyphic, hieratic (derived from hieroglyphic), and demotic, a simplified form of hieratic. See Rawlinson's essay, ch. 5, in his Appendix to Book II.

<sup>2</sup> On this plant, see ch. 92.

τῶν οἰκηίων τρίβουσι οὔτε δαπανῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ σιτία σφι ἔστι ἱρὰ πεσσόμενα, καὶ κρεῶν βοέων καὶ χηνέων πλήθός τι ἐκάστῳ γίνεται πολλὸν ἡμέρης ἐκάστης, δίδοται δὲ σφι καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος· ἰχθύων δὲ οὐ σφι ἔξεστι πάσασθαι. κυάμους δὲ οὔτε τι μάλα σπείρουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, τοὺς τε γινομένους οὔτε τρώγουσι οὔτε ἔψοντες πατέονται, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἱρέες οὐδὲ ὀρέοντες ἀνέχονται, νομίζοντες οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναί μιν ὄσπριον. ἱρᾶται δὲ οὐκ εἰς ἐκάστου τῶν θεῶν ἀλλὰ πολλοί, τῶν εἰς ἔστι ἀρχιερεὺς· ἐπεὰν δὲ τις ἀποθάνῃ, τούτου ὁ παῖς ἀντικατίσταται.

38. Τοὺς δὲ βοῦς τοὺς ἔρσειας τοῦ Ἐπάφου εἶναι νομίζουσι, καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκιμάζουσι αὐτοὺς ὧδε· τρίχα ἦν καὶ μίαν ἴδηται ἐπεοῦσαν μέλαιναν, οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναι νομίζει. δίζηται δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένος τῶν τις ἱρέων καὶ ὀρθοῦ ἐστεῶτος τοῦ κτήνεος καὶ ὑπτίου, καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐξειρύσας, εἰ καθαρὴ τῶν προκειμένων σημήϊων, τὰ ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἐρέω· κατορᾷ δὲ καὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς οὐρῆς εἰ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει πεφυκυίας. ἦν δὲ τούτων πάντων ἢ καθαρὸς, σημαίνεται βύβλω περὶ τὰ κέρεια εἰλίσσων καὶ ἔπειτα γῆν σημαντρίδα ἐπιπλάσας ἐπιβάλλει τὸν δακτύλιον, καὶ οὕτω ἀπάγουσι. ἀσήμαντον δὲ θύσαντι θάνατος ἢ ζημὴ ἐπικέεται. δοκιμάζεται μὲν νυν τὸ κτήνος τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, θυσίῃ δὲ σφι ἤδε κατέστηκε.

39. Ἀγαγόντες τὸ σεσημασμένον κτήνος πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ὅκου ἂν θύωσι, πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οἶνον κατὰ τοῦ ἱρηίου ἐπισπείσαντες καὶ ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸν θεὸν σφάζουσι, σφά-



their own; sacred food is cooked for them, to each man is brought every day flesh of beeves and geese in great abundance, and wine of grapes too is given to them. They may not eat fish. The Egyptians sow no beans in their country; if any grow, they will not eat them either raw or cooked; the priests cannot endure even to see them, considering beans an unclean kind of pulse. Many (not one alone) are dedicated to the service of each god. One of these is the high priest; and when a high priest dies his son succeeds to his office.

38. They hold that bulls belong to Epaphus,<sup>1</sup> and therefore test them thus to see if there be as much as one black hair on them; if there be, the bull is deemed not pure; one of the priests, appointed to this task, examines the beast, making it to stand and to lie, and drawing out its tongue, to know whether it bear none of the stated signs which I shall declare hereafter.<sup>2</sup> He looks also to the hairs of the tail, to see if they grow naturally. If it be pure in all these respects, the priest marks it by wrapping papyrus round the horns, then smears it with sealing-earth and stamps it with his ring; and after this they lead the bull away. But the penalty is death for sacrificing a bull that the priest has not marked. Such is the manner of proving the beast; I will now show how it is sacrificed.

39. Having brought the marked beast to the altar where the sacrifice is to be, they kindle a fire; then they pour wine on the altar over the victim and call upon the god; then they cut its throat, and

<sup>1</sup> Epaphus is the Greek form of Apis or Hapi, the bull-god of Memphis; for bulls of Mair's *Oppian* (L.C.L.) Cyn. II. 86, note.

<sup>2</sup> iii. 28.

ξαντες δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν. σῶμα μὲν δὴ τοῦ κτήνεος δείρουσι, κεφαλῇ δὲ κείνη. πολλὰ καταρρησάμενοι φέρουσι, τοῖσι μὲν ἂν ἢ ἀγορῇ καὶ Ἑλληνές σφι ἔωσι ἐπιδήμιοι ἔμποροι, οἱ δὲ φέροντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀπ' ὧν ἔδοντο, τοῖσι δὲ ἂν μὴ παρέωσι Ἑλληνες, οἱ δ' ἐκβάλλουσι εἰς τὸν ποταμόν· καταρῶνται δὲ τάδε λέγοντες τῇσι κεφαλῇσι, εἴ τι μέλλοι ἢ σφίσι τοῖσι θύουσι ἢ Αἰγύπτῳ τῇ συναπάσῃ κακὸν γενέσθαι, εἰς κεφαλὴν ταύτην τραπέσθαι. κατὰ μὲν νυν τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν θυομένων κτηνέων καὶ τὴν ἐπίσπεισιν τοῦ οἴνου πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται ὁμοίως εἰς πάντα τὰ ἱρά, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ νόμου οὐδὲ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἐμψύχου κεφαλῆς γεύσεται Αἰγυπτίων οὐδεὶς.

40. Ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐξαίρεσις τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ ἡ καῦσις ἄλλη περὶ ἄλλο ἱρόν σφι κατέστηκε· τὴν δ' ὧν μεγιστην τε δαίμονα ἡγνεται εἶναι καὶ μεγίστην οἱ ὀρτὴν ἀνάγουσι, ταύτην ἔρχομαι ἐρέων . . . <sup>1</sup> ἐπεὰν ἀποδείρωσι τὸν βούν, κατευξάμενοι κοιλίην μὲν κείνην πᾶσαν ἐξ ὧν εἶλον, σπλάγχνα δὲ αὐτοῦ λείπουν ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν πιμελήν, σκέλεα δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι καὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν ἄκρην καὶ τοὺς ὥμους τε καὶ τὸν τράχηλον. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα τοῦ βοῦς πιμπλῶσι ἄρτων καθαρῶν καὶ μέλιτος καὶ ἀσταφίδος καὶ σύκων καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ σμύρνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυωμάτων, πλήσαντες δὲ τούτων καταγίζουσι, ἔλαιον ἄφθονον καταχέοντες· προνηστεύσαντες δὲ θύουσι, καιομένων δὲ τῶν ἱρῶν

<sup>1</sup> There is an obvious lacuna; probably the name of the goddess (Isis) was given here.

having so done they sever the head from the body. They flay the carcase of the victim, then invoke many curses on its head and carry the same away. Where there is a market, and Greek traders in the place, the head is taken to the market and sold; where there are no Greeks, it is thrown into the river. The imprecation which they utter over the heads is, that whatever ill threatens themselves, who sacrifice, or the whole of Egypt, may fall upon that head. In respect of the heads of sacrificed beasts and the libation of wine, the practice of all Egyptians is the same in all sacrifices; and from this ordinance no Egyptian will taste of the head of anything that had life.

40. But in regard to the disembowelling and burning of the victims, there is a different way for each sacrifice. I will now, however, speak of that goddess whom they deem the greatest, and in whose honour they keep highest festival. The ox being flayed, after prayer made as aforesaid they take out the whole stomach, leaving the entrails in the carcase and the fat, and cut off the legs, the end of the loin, the shoulders, and the neck. Having done this, they fill what remains of the carcase of the ox with pure bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, myrrh, and other kinds of incense, and then burn it, pouring much oil on it. They fast before the sacrifice, and while it is burning they all make lamentation; and when their

τύπτονται πάντες, ἑπεὰν δὲ ἀποτύψωνται, δαῖτα προτίθενται τὰ ἐλίποντο τῶν ἰρῶν.

41. Τοὺς μὲν νυν καθαροὺς βοῦς τοὺς ἔρσενας καὶ τοὺς μόσχους οἱ πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι θύουσι, τὰς δὲ θηλέας οὐ σφί ἔξεστι θύειν, ἀλλὰ ἱραὶ εἰσι τῆς Ἰσίου· τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἰσίου ἄγαλμα εἶναι γυναικῆιον βούκερων ἐστὶ κατὰ περ Ἑλλήνες τὴν Ἰοῦν γράφουσι, καὶ τὰς βοῦς τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες ὁμοίως σέβονται προβάτων πάντων μάλιστα μακρῶ. τῶν εἵνεκα οὔτε ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος οὔτε γυνὴ ἄνδρα Ἑλληνα φιλήσειε ἂν τῷ στόματι, οὔδὲ μαχαίρῃ ἀνδρὸς Ἑλληνος χρήσεται οὔδὲ ὀβελοῖσι οὔδὲ λέβητι, οὔδὲ κρέως καθαρῷ βοὸς διατετμημένου Ἑλληνικῇ μαχαίρῃ γεύσεται. θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας βοῦς τρόπον τόνδε· τὰς μὲν θηλέας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπιεῖσι, τοὺς δὲ ἔρσενας κατορύσσουσι ἕκαστοι ἐν τοῖσι προαστείοισι, τὸ κέρας τὸ ἕτερον ἢ καὶ ἀμφότερα ὑπερέχοντα σημήλιον εἵνεκεν· ἑπεὰν δὲ σαπῇ καὶ προσίῃ ὁ τεταγμένος χρόνος, ἀπικνέεται ἐς ἐκάστην πόλιν βάρις ἐκ τῆς Προσωπίτιδος καλευμένης νήσου. ἥ δ' ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῷ Δέλτα, περίμετρον δὲ αὐτῆς εἰσὶ σχοῖνοι ἑννέα. ἐν ταύτῃ ὦν τῇ Προσωπίτιδι νήσῳ ἔνεισι μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις συχναί, ἐκ τῆς δὲ αἱ βάριες παραγίνονται ἀναιρεησόμεναι τὰ ὀστέα τῶν βοῶν, οὖνομα τῇ πόλει Ἀτάρβηχισ, ἐν δ' αὐτῇ Ἀφροδίτης ἱρὸν ἅγιον ἱδρυται. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλανῶνται πολλοὶ ἄλλοι ἐς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἀνορύξαντες δὲ, ὡς ὀστέα ἀπάγουσι καὶ θάπτουσι ἐς ἓνα χώρον πάντες. κατὰ ταῦτά δὲ τοῖσι βουσί καὶ τὰλλα κτήνεα θάπτουσι ἀποθνήσκοντα· καὶ γὰρ περὶ



lamentation is over, they set out a meal of what is left of the victim.

41. All Egyptians sacrifice unblemished bulls and bull-calves; they may not sacrifice cows; these are sacred to Isis. For the images of Isis are in woman's form, horned like an ox, as the Greeks picture Io, and cows are held by far the most sacred of all beasts of the herd by all Egyptians alike. For this reason no Egyptian man or woman will kiss a Greek man, or use a knife, or a spit, or a caldron belonging to a Greek, or taste the flesh of an unblemished ox that has been cut up with a Greek knife. Oxen that die are dealt with in the following way:—Cows are cast into the river, bulls are buried by each city in its suburbs, with one or both horns uncovered for a sign: then, when the carcase is decomposed, and the time appointed is at hand, a boat comes to each city from the island called Prosopitis, an island in the Delta, of nine schoeni in circuit. There are many other towns in Prosopitis; that one from which come the boats to gather the bones of the bulls is called Atarbechis;<sup>1</sup> there stands in it a temple of Aphrodite of great sanctity. From this town many go about, some to one town and some to another, and dig up the bones, which they then carry away and all bury in one place. As they bury the oxen, so they do with all other beasts at death. Such is their ordinance

<sup>1</sup> No doubt from Athor or Hathor, under which name Isis was often worshipped.

ταῦτα οὕτω σφι νενομοθέτηται· κτείνουσι γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ ταῦτα.

42. Ὅσοι μὲν δὴ Διὸς Θηβαιέος ἱδρυνται ἱρὸν ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου εἰσί, οὗτοι μὲν νυν πάντες οἴων ἀπεχόμενοι αἰγας θύουσι. θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἰσιὸς τε καὶ Ὀσίριος, τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι· τούτους δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπαντες σέβονται. ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ Μένδητος ἔκτληται ἱρὸν ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ Μενδησίου εἰσί, οὗτοι δὲ αἰγῶν ἀπεχόμενοι οἷς θύουσι. Θηβαῖοι μὲν νυν καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τούτους οἴων ἀπέχονται, διὰ τὰδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τόνδε σφίσι τεθῆναι. Ἡρακλέα θελήσαι πάντως ιδέσθαι τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὀφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· τέλος δέ, ἐπεῖτε λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τὰδε τὸν Δία μηχανήσασθαι· κριὸν ἐκδείραντα προσχέσθαι τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποταμόντα τοῦ κριοῦ καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος οὕτω οἱ ἑωυτὸν ἐπιδέξαι. ἀπὸ τούτου κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τῶγαλμα ποιεῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων Ἀμμώνιοι, ἐόντες Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν ἄποικοι καὶ φωνὴν μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων νομίζοντες· δοκέειν δέ μοι, καὶ τὸ οὖνομα Ἀμμώνιοι ἀπὸ τούδε σφίσι τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἐποιήσαντο· Ἀμοῦν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν Δία. τοὺς δὲ κριοὺς οὐ θύουσι Θηβαῖοι, ἀλλ' εἰσί σφι ἱροὶ διὰ τοῦτο. μὴ δὲ ἡμέρη τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐν ὁρτῇ τοῦ Διός, κριὸν ἓνα κατακόψαντες καὶ ἀποδείραντες κατὰ τῶντ' ἐνδύουσι τῶγαλμα τοῦ Διός, καὶ ἔπειτα ἄλλο

respecting these also; for they, too, may not be killed.

42. All that have among them a temple of Zeus of Thebes, or are of the Theban province, sacrifice goats but will not touch sheep. For no gods are worshipped in common by the whole of Egypt save only Isis and Osiris, whom they say to be Dionysus; these are worshipped by all alike. Those who have a temple of Mendes<sup>1</sup> or are of the Mendesian province sacrifice sheep, but will not touch goats. The Thebans, and those who by the Theban example will not touch sheep give the following reason for their ordinance: Heracles<sup>2</sup> (they say) would by all means look upon Zeus, and Zeus would not be seen by him. At last, being earnestly entreated by Heracles, Zeus contrived a device, whereby he showed himself displaying the head and wearing the fleece of a ram which he had flayed and beheaded. It is from this that the Egyptian images of Zeus have a ram's head; and in this the Egyptians are imitated by the Ammonians, who are colonists from Egypt and Ethiopia and speak a language compounded of the tongues of both countries. It was from this, I think, that the Ammonians got their name too; for Amun is the Egyptian name for Zeus. The Thebans, then, hold rams sacred for this reason, and do not sacrifice them. But on one day in the year, at the festival of Zeus, they cut in pieces and flay a single ram and put the fleece on the image of Zeus, as in the story; then

<sup>1</sup> Mendes, Greek form of Binded, a town in the Delta where Osiris was worshipped in the form of a ram, according to monuments. Here Mendes apparently = Osiris.

<sup>2</sup> The Greeks identified with Heracles an Egyptian god Shu (called at Thebes Chonsu-Neferhotep, Ἀγαθοδαίμων).

ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέος προσάγουσι πρὸς αὐτό. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τύπτονται οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἅπαντες τὸν κριὸν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν ἱρῇ θήκῃ θάπτουσι αὐτόν.

43. Ἡρακλέος δὲ περὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἤκουσα, ὅτι εἴη τῶν δυνώδεκα θεῶν τοῦ ἑτέρου δὲ περὶ Ἡρακλέος, τὸν Ἕλληνες οἶδασι, οὐδαμῇ Αἰγύπτου ἐδυνάσθην ἀκούσαι. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον τὸ οὐνομα Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, ἀλλὰ Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον παρ' Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὗτοι οἱ θέμενοι τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γόνῳ τοῦνομα Ἡρακλέα, πολλά μοι καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήρια ἐστὶ τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τότε, ὅτι τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέος τούτου οἱ γονεές ἀμφοτέροι ἦσαν Ἀμφιτρύων καὶ Ἀλκμήνη γεγονότες τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, καὶ διότι Αἰγύπτιοι οὔτε Ποσειδέωνος οὔτε Διοσκούρων τὰ οὐνόματα φασὶ εἰδέναι, οὐδέ σφί θεοὶ οὗτοι ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι ἀποδεδέχεται. καὶ μὴν εἴ γε παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον οὐνομά τευ δαίμονος, τούτων οὐκ ἦκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα ἔμελλον μνήμην ἔξειν, εἴ περ καὶ τότε ναυτιλίῃσι ἐχρέωντο καὶ ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ναυτίλοι, ὥς ἔλπομαί τε καὶ ἐμὴ γνώμη αἰρέει· ὥστε τούτων ἂν καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν θεῶν τὰ οὐνόματα ἐξεπιστέατο Αἰγύπτιοι ἢ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. ἀλλὰ τις ἀρχαῖος ἐστὶ θεὸς Αἰγυπτίοις Ἡρακλῆς· ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἕτεα ἐστὶ ἐπτακισχίλια καὶ μύρια ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλεύσαντα, ἐπεῖτε ἐκ τῶν ὀκτῶ θεῶν οἱ δυνώδεκα θεοὶ ἐγένοντο τῶν Ἡρακλέα ἓνα νομίζουσι.

44. Καὶ θέλων δὲ τούτων περὶ σαφές τι εἰδέναι ἐξ ὧν οἷόν τε ἦν, ἔπλευσα καὶ ἐς Τύρον τῆς



they bring an image of Heracles near to it. Having done this, all that are about the temple mourn for the ram, and presently bury it in a sacred coffer.

43. Concerning Heracles, I heard it said that he was one of the twelve gods. But I could nowhere in Egypt hear anything concerning the other Heracles, whom the Greeks know. I have indeed many proofs that the name of Heracles did not come from Hellas to Egypt, but from Egypt to Hellas (and in Hellas to those Greeks who gave the name Heracles to the son of Amphitryon); and this is the chief among them—that Amphitryon and Alcmene, the parents of this Heracles, were both by descent Egyptian;<sup>1</sup> and that the Egyptians deny knowledge of the names of Poseidon and the Dioscuri, nor are these gods reckoned among the gods of Egypt. Yet had they got the name of any deity from the Greeks, it was these more than any that they were like to remember, if indeed they were already making sea voyages and the Greeks too had seafaring men, as I suppose and judge; so that the names of these gods would have been even better known to the Egyptians than the name of Heracles. Nay, Heracles is a very ancient god in Egypt; as the Egyptians themselves say, the change of the eight gods to the twelve, of whom they deem Heracles one, was made seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis.

44. Moreover, wishing to get clear knowledge of this matter whence it was possible so to do, I took

<sup>1</sup> As grandchildren of Perseus, for whose Egyptian origin see 91.

Φοινίκης, πυνθανόμενος αὐτόθι εἶναι ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος ἁγίον, καὶ εἶδον πλουσίως κατεσκευασμένον ἄλλοισί τε πολλοῖσι ἀναθήμασι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἦσαν στῆλαι δύο, ἡ μὲν χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἡ δὲ σμαράγδου λίθον λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας μέγαθος. ἐς λόγους δὲ ἐλθὼν τοῖσι ἱρεῦσι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρόμην ὁκόσος χρόνος εἴη ἐξ οὗ σφί το ἱρὸν ἱδρυταί. εὖρον δὲ οὐδὲ τούτους τοῖσι Ἕλλησι συμφερομένους· ἔφασαν γὰρ ἅμα Τύρῳ οἰκίζομένη καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἱδρυθῆναι, εἶναι δὲ ἕτεα ἀπ' οὗ Τύρον οἰκέουσι τριηκόσια καὶ δισχίλια. εἶδον δὲ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ καὶ ἄλλο ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντος Θασίου εἶναι· ἀπικόμην δὲ καὶ ἐς Θάσον, ἐν τῇ εὖρον ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἱδρυμένον, οἱ κατ' Εὐρώπης ζήτησιν ἐκπλώσαντες Θάσον ἔκτισαν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πέντε γενεῇσι ἀνδρῶν πρότερα ἐστὶ ἢ τὸν Ἀμφιτρύωνος Ἡρακλέα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γενέσθαι. τὰ μὲν νυν ἱστορημένα δηλοῖ σαφέως παλαιὸν θεὸν Ἡρακλέα εἶντα, καὶ δοκέουσι δὲ μοι οὗτοι ὀρθότατα Ἑλλήνων ποιεῖν, οἱ διζὰ Ἡράκλεια ἱδρυσάμενοι ἔκتهνται, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὡς ἀθανάτῳ Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμίην θύουσι, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ ὡς ἥρωι ἐναγίζουσι.

45. Λέγουσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ Ἕλληνες, εὐήθης δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅδε ὁ μῦθος ἐστὶ τὸν περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος λέγουσι, ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπικόμενον ἐς Αἴγυπτον στέψαντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ πομπῆς ἐξῆγον ὡς θύσοντες τῷ Διί· τὸν δὲ τέως μὲν ἡσυχίην ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ

<sup>1</sup> The Tyrian god Melkart.

ship to Tyre in Phoenice, where I heard that there was a very holy temple of Heracles.<sup>1</sup> There I saw it, richly equipped with many other offerings, besides that in it there were two pillars, one of refined gold, one of emerald, a great pillar that shone in the night-time; and in converse with the priests I asked how long it was since their temple was built. I found that neither did their account tally with the belief of the Greeks; for they said that the temple of the god was founded when Tyre first became a city, and that was two thousand three hundred years since. At Tyre I saw yet another temple of that Heracles called the Thasian. Then I went to Thasos, too, where I found a temple of Heracles built by the Phoenicians, who made a settlement there when they voyaged in search of Europe; now they did so as much as five generations before the birth in Hellas of Heracles the son of Amphitryon. Therefore, what I have discovered by inquiry plainly shows that Heracles is an ancient god. And further: those Greeks, I think, are most in the right, who have established and practise two worships of Heracles, sacrificing to one Heracles as to an immortal, and calling him the Olympian, but to the other bringing offerings as to a dead hero.<sup>2</sup>

45. But among the many ill-considered tales told by the Greeks, this is a very foolish story which they relate about Heracles—how when he came to Egypt the Egyptians crowned him and led him out in a procession to sacrifice him to Zeus; and for a while (they say) he followed quietly, but when they began

<sup>1</sup> There is a dual Heracles in the *Odyssey*, xi. 601 *seqq.* An εἰσαλας of him is seen in the world of the dead; but "he himself" is an immortal among the gods of heaven.

κατάρχοντο, ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπόμενον πάντας σφέας καταφονεῦσαι. ἐμοὶ μὲν νυν δοκέουσι ταῦτα λέγοντες τῆς Αἰγυπτίων φύσιος καὶ τῶν νόμων πᾶμπαν ἀπείρως ἔχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες· τοῖσι γὰρ οὐδὲ κτήνεα ὁσὶν θύειν ἐστὶ χωρὶς ὑῶν καὶ ἐρσένων βοῶν καὶ μόσχων, ὅσοι ἂν καθαροὶ ἔωσι, καὶ χηνῶν, κῶς ἂν οὗτοι ἀνθρώπους θύοιεν; ἔτι δὲ ἓνα εἶντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ ἔτι ἄνθρωπον, ὥς δὴ φασί, κῶς φύσιν ἔχει πολλὰς μυριάδας φονεῦσαι; καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν εἰποῦσι καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡρώων εὐμενεῖη εἴη.

46. Τὰς δὲ δὴ αἰγας καὶ τοὺς τράγους τῶνδε εἵνεκα οὐ θύουσι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ εἰρημένοι· τὸν Πᾶνα τῶν ὀκτῶ θεῶν λογίζονται εἶναι οἱ Μενδήσιοι, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτῶ θεοὺς τούτους προτέρους τῶν δυνώδεκα θεῶν φασὶ γενέσθαι, γράφουσί τε δὴ καὶ γλύφουσιν οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἀγαλματοποιοὶ τοῦ Πανὸς τῷγαλμα κατὰ περ Ἕλληνες αἰγοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα, οὔτι τοιοῦτον νομίζοντες εἶναι μιν ἀλλὰ ὁμοῖον τοῖσι ἄλλοις θεοῖσι· ὅτεν δὲ εἵνεκα τοιοῦτον γράφουσιν αὐτόν, οὐ μοι ἡδίων ἐστὶ λέγειν. σέβονται δὲ πάντας τοὺς αἰγας οἱ Μενδήσιοι, καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἔρσενας τῶν θηλέων, καὶ τούτων οἱ αἰπόλοι τιμὰς μέζονας ἔχουσι· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἓνα μάλιστα, ὅστις ἐπεὰν ἀποθάνῃ, πένθος μέγα παντὶ τῷ Μενδησίῳ νομῷ τίθεται. καλέεται δὲ ὃ τε τράγος καὶ ὁ Πᾶν Αἰγυπτιστὶ Μένδης. ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ τοῦτο τὸ τέρας· γυναικὶ τράγος ἐμίσγητο ἀναφανδόν. τοῦτο ἐς ἐπίδεξιν ἀνθρώπων ἀπῖκετο.

47. Τὴν δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι μιὰρὸν ἡγῆνται θηρίον εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν τις ψαύσῃ αὐτῶν παριῶν



the first rites of sacrifice upon him at the altar, he resisted and slew them all. Now it seems to me that by this story the Greeks show themselves wholly ignorant of the character and customs of the Egyptians; for how should they sacrifice men, who are forbidden to sacrifice even the lower animals, save only swine and bulls and bull-calves, if they be unblemished, and geese? Moreover, Heracles being alone, and still but a man, as they say, how is it natural that he should slay a countless multitude? So much I say of this matter; may no god or hero be displeased with me therefor!

46. This is the reason why the Egyptians of whom I have spoken sacrifice no goats, male or female: the Mendesians reckon Pan among the eight gods, who, they say, were before the twelve gods. Now in their painting and sculpture the image of Pan is made as among the Greeks with the head and the legs of a goat; not that he is deemed to be in truth such, or unlike to other gods; but why they so present him I have no wish to say. The Mendesians hold all goats sacred, the male even more than the female, and goatherds are held in especial honour: one he-goat is most sacred of all; when he dies it is ordained that there should be great mourning in all the Mendesian province. In the Egyptian language Mendes is the name both for the he-goat and for Pan. In my lifetime a monstrous thing happened in this province, a woman having open intercourse with a he-goat. This came to be publicly known.

47. Swine are held by the Egyptians to be unclean beasts. Firstly, if an Egyptian touch a hog in

ὅς, αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἱματίοις ἀπ' ὧν ἔβαψε ἑαυτὸν  
 βὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμόν· τοῦτο δὲ οἱ συμβῶται ἔοντες  
 Αἰγύπτιοι ἐγγενέες ἐς ἱρὸν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ  
 ἐσέρχονται μῦθοι πάντων, οὐδέ σφι ἐκδίδοσθαι  
 οὐδεὶς θυγατέρα ἐθέλει οὐδ' ἄγεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν,  
 ἀλλ' ἐκδίδονται τε οἱ συμβῶται καὶ ἄγονται ἐξ  
 ἀλλήλων. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοις θεοῖσι θύειν ὥς  
 οὐ δικαιοῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι, Σελήνῃ δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ  
 μῦθοις τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, τῇ αὐτῇ πανσελήνῳ,  
 τοὺς ὥς θύσαντες πατέονται τῶν κρεῶν. διότι  
 δὲ τοὺς ὥς ἐν μὲν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι ὀρτῇσι ἀπεστυγή-  
 κασι ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ θύουσι, ἔστι μὲν λόγος περὶ  
 αὐτοῦ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγόμενος, ἐμοὶ μέντοι ἐπι-  
 σταμένῳ οὐκ εὐπρεπέστερος ἐστὶ λέγεσθαι. θυσίῃ  
 δὲ ἥδε τῶν ὥων τῇ Σελήνῃ ποιεῖται· ἐπεὶ  
 θύσῃ, τὴν οὐρὴν ἄκρην καὶ τὸν σπλῆνα καὶ τὸν  
 ἐπίπλοον συνθεῖς ὁμοῦ κατ' ὧν ἐκάλυψε πάσῃ  
 τοῦ κτήneos τῇ πιμελῇ τῇ περὶ τὴν νηδὺν γινομένη,  
 καὶ ἔπειτα καταγίξει πυρί· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα  
 σιτέονται ἐν τῇ πανσελήνῳ ἐν τῇ ἂν τὰ ἱρά  
 θύσωσι, ἐν ἄλλῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ οὐκ ἂν ἐτι γευσαίητο.  
 οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀσθeneίης βίου σταιτίνας  
 πλάσαντες ὥς καὶ ὀπτήσαντες ταύτας θύουσι.

48. Τῷ δὲ Διονύσῳ τῆς ὀρτῆς τῇ δορπίῃ χοῖρον  
 πρὸ τῶν θυρέων σφάξας ἕκαστος διδοῖ ἀπο-  
 φέρεσθαι τὸν χοῖρον αὐτῷ τῷ ἀποδομένῳ τῶν  
 συμβωτέων. τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἀνάγουσι ὀρτὴν τῷ  
 Διονύσῳ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι πλὴν χορῶν κατὰ ταῦτα  
 σχεδὸν πάντα Ἑλλήσιν· ἀντὶ δὲ φαλλῶν ἄλλα  
 σφι ἐστὶ ἐξευρημένα, ὅσον τε πηχυαῖα ἀγάλματα  
 νευρόσπαστα, τὰ περιφορέουσι κατὰ κώμας γυ-  
 ναῖκες, νεῦον τὸ αἰδοῖον, οὐ πολλῷ τεφρῷ ἔλασσον

passing by, he goes to the river and dips himself in it, clothed as he is ; and secondly, swineherds, native born Egyptians though they be, are alone of all men forbidden to enter any Egyptian temple ; nor will any give a swineherd his daughter in marriage, nor take a wife from their women ; but swineherds intermarry among themselves. Nor do the Egyptians think right to sacrifice swine to any god save the Moon and Dionysus ; to these they sacrifice their swine at the same time, in the same season of full moon ; then they eat of the flesh. The Egyptians have an account of the reason why they sacrifice swine at this festival, yet abominate them at others ; I know it, but it is not fitting that I should relate it. But this is how they sacrifice swine to the Moon : the sacrificer lays the end of the tail and the spleen and the caul together and covers them up with all the fat that he finds about the belly, then burns all with fire ; as for the rest of the flesh, they eat it at the time of full moon when they sacrifice the victim ; but they will not taste it on any other day. Poor men, having but slender means, mould swine of dough, which they then bake and sacrifice.

48. To Dionysus, on the evening of his festival, everyone offers a porker which he kills before his door and then gives to the swineherd himself who has sold it, for him to take away. The rest of the festival of Dionysus is ordered by the Egyptians much as it is by the Greeks, except for the dances ; but in place of the phallus they have invented the use of puppets a cubit long moved by strings, which are carried about the villages by women, the male member moving and near as big as the rest of the

ἔδον τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος· προηγέεται δὲ αὐλός, αἱ δὲ ἔπονται αἰδίδουσαι τὸν Διόνυσον. διότι δὲ μέζον τε ἔχει τὸ αἰδοῖον καὶ κινεῖ μῦνον τοῦ σώματος, ἔστι λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱρὸς λεγόμενος.

49. Ἦδη ὦν δοκέει μοι Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυθέωνος τῆς θυσίης ταύτης οὐκ εἶναι ἀδαῆς ἀλλ' ἔμπειρος. Ἑλλησι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπους ἔστι ὁ ἐξηγησάμενος τοῦ Διονύσου τό τε οὐνομα καὶ τὴν θυσίην καὶ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ φαλλοῦ· ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐ πάντα συλλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ἔφηνε, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπιγενόμενοι τούτῳ σοφιστὰι μεζόνως ἐξέφηναν· τὸν δ' ὦν φαλλὸν τὸν τῷ Διονύσῳ πεμπόμενον Μελάμπους ἔστι ὁ κατηγησάμενος, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου μαθόντες ποιεῦσι τὰ ποιεῦσι Ἕλληνες. ἐγὼ μὲν νυν φημὶ Μελάμποδα γενόμενον ἄνδρα σοφὸν μαντικὴν τε ἰωυτῷ συστήσαι καὶ πυθόμενον ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐσηγήσασθαι Ἑλλησι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, ὀλίγα αὐτῶν παραλλάξαντα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ συμπεσεῖν γε φήσω τὰ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποιούμενα τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι· ὁμότροπα γὰρ ἂν ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι καὶ οὐ νεωστὶ ἐσηγμένα. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ φήσω ὅπως Αἰγύπτιοι παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον ἢ τοῦτο ἢ ἄλλο κού τι νόμαιον. πυθέσθαι δέ μοι δοκέει μάλιστα Μελάμπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ Τυρίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίνην καλεομένην χώραν.

50. Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντων τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκει, πυνθανόμενος οὕτω εὐρίσκω ἑὸν· δοκέω δ' ὦν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπίχθαι. ὅτι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Ποσειδέωνος καὶ Διοσ-



body; a flute-player goes before, the women follow after, singing of Dionysus. There is a sacred legend which gives the reason for the appearance and motions of these puppets.

49. Now, this being so, it seems to me that Melampus son of Amytheon was not ignorant but had attained knowledge of this sacrifice. For it was Melampus who taught the Greeks the name of Dionysus, and the way of sacrificing to him, and the phallic procession; I would not in strictness say that he showed them completely the whole matter, for the later teachers added somewhat to his showing; but it was from him that the Greeks learnt to bear the phallus along in honour of Dionysus, and they got their present practice from his teaching. I think, then, that Melampus showed himself a clever man, in that he had acquired the prophetic art, and in his teaching of the worship of Dionysus, besides much else, came from Egypt with but slight change; for I will not admit that it is a chance agreement between the Egyptian ritual of Dionysus and the Greek; for were that so, the Greek ritual would be of a Greek nature and not but lately introduced. Nor yet will I hold that the Egyptians took either this or any other custom from the Greeks. But I believe that Melampus learnt the worship of Dionysus chiefly from Cadmus of Tyre and those who came with Cadmus from Phoenice to the land now called Boeotia.

50. Indeed, wellnigh all the names of the gods came to Hellas from Egypt. For I am assured by inquiry that they have come from foreign parts, and I believe that they came chiefly from Egypt. Except the names of Poseidon and the Dioscuri, as I have

κούρων, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι ταῦτα εἴρηται, καὶ Ἡρης καὶ Ἰστίης καὶ Θέμιος καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Νηρηίδων, τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Αἰγυπτίοισι αἰεὶ κοτε τὰ οὐνόματα ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν δὲ οὐ φασι θεῶν γινώσκειν τὰ οὐνόματα, οὗτοι δὲ μοι δοκέουσι ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ὀνομασθῆναι, πλὴν Ποσειδέωνος· τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν παρὰ Λιβύων ἐπύθοντο· οὐδαμοὶ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ποσειδέωνος οὐνομα ἔκتهνται εἰ μὴ Λίβυες καὶ τιμῶσι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον αἰεὶ. νομίζουσι δ' ὧν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ' ἤρωσι οὐδέν.

51. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτοισι, τὰ ἐγὼ φράσω, Ἕλληνες ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων νενομίκασι· τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμέω τὰ ἀγάλματα ὀρθὰ ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα ποιεῦντες οὐκ ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν πρῶτοι μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων Ἀθηναῖοι παραλαβόντες, παρὰ δὲ τούτων ὄλλοι. Ἀθηναίοισι γὰρ ἤδη τήνικαῦτα ἐς Ἕλληνας τελέουσι Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὅθεν περ καὶ Ἕλληνες ἤρξαντο νομισθῆναι. ὅστις δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὄργια μεμύηται, τὰ Σαμοθρίκες ἐπιτελέουσι παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, οὗτος ὦν ἡρ οἶδε τὸ λέγω· τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρίκην οἶκεον πρότερον Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι οἳ περ Ἀθηναίοισι σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Σαμοθρίκες τὰ ὄργια παραλαμβάνουσι. ὀρθὰ ὧν ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα τὰγάλματα τοῦ Ἑρμέω Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν ἐποίησαντο· οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ἱρόν τινα λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεξαν, τὰ ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Σαμοθρίκῃ μυστηρίοισι δεδηλωται.

52. Ἔθνον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπευχόμενοι, ὥς ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδώνῃ οἶδα ἀκού-

already said, and Here, and Hestia, and Themis, and the Graces and the Nereids, the names of all the gods have ever existed in Egypt. I say but what the Egyptians themselves say. The gods whose names they say they do not know were, as I think, named by the Pelasgians, save only Poseidon, of whom they learnt the knowledge from the Libyans. Alone of all nations the Libyans have had among them the name of Poseidon from the first, and they have ever honoured this god. The Egyptians, however, are not accustomed to pay any honours to heroes.

51. These customs then and others besides, which I shall show, were taken by the Greeks from the Egyptians. It was not so with the ithyphallic images of Hermes; the making of these came from the Pelasgians, from whom the Athenians were the first of all Greeks to take it, and then handed it on to others. For the Athenians were then already counted as Greeks when the Pelasgians came to dwell in the land with them, and thereby began to be considered as Greeks. Whoever has been initiated into the rites of the Cabeiri, which the Samothracians learnt from the Pelasgians and now practice, he understands what my meaning is. Samothrace was formerly inhabited by those Pelasgians who came to dwell among the Athenians, and it is from them that the Samothracians take their rites. The Athenians, then, were the first Greeks to make ithyphallic images of Hermes, and this they did because the Pelasgians taught them. The Pelasgians told a certain sacred tale about this, which is set forth in the Samothracian mysteries.

52. Formerly, in all their sacrifices, the Pelasgians called upon gods (this I know, for I was told at

σας, ἐπωνυμίην δὲ οὐδ' οὖνομα ἐποιεῦντο οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἀκηκόεσάν κω. θεοὺς δὲ προσωνόμασαν σφέας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου, ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομὰς εἶχον. ἔπειτα δὲ χρόνου πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπικόμενα τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων, Διονύσου δὲ ὕστερον πολλῶ ἐπύθοντο. καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐχρηστηριάζοντο περὶ τῶν οὐνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνῃ· τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήιον τοῦτο νενομίσται ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησι χρηστηρίων εἶναι, καὶ ἦν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μόνον. ἐπεὶ ὧν ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ οἱ Πελασγοὶ εἰ ἀνέλωνται τὰ οὐνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἤκοντα, ἀνεῖλε τὸ μαντήιον χρᾶσθαι. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔθυσον τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν θεῶν χρεώμενοι· παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν Ἕλληνες ἐξεδέξαντο ὕστερον.

53. Ἐνθεν δὲ ἐγένοντο ἕκαστος τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε αἰεὶ ἦσαν πάντες, ὁκοῖοί τε τινὲς τὰ εἶδεα, οὐκ ἠπιστέατο μέχρι οὗ πρώην τε καὶ χθὲς ὥς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὀμηρον ἠλικίην τετρακοσίοις ἔτεσι δοκέω μὲν πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ οὐ πλέοσι· οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἑλλησι καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες καὶ τιμὰς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες καὶ εἶδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες. οἱ δὲ πρότερον ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι ὕστερον, ἔμοιγε δοκέειν, ἐγένοντο. τούτων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα αἱ Δωδωνίδες ἱρεῖαι λέγουσι, τὰ δὲ ὕστερα τὰ ἐς Ἡσίοδον τε καὶ Ὀμηρον ἔχοντα ἐγὼ λέγω.

54. Χρηστηρίων δὲ πέρι τοῦ τε ἐν Ἑλλησι καὶ



Dodona) without giving name or appellation to any; for they had not as yet heard of such. They called them gods<sup>1</sup> because all things and the due assignment thereof were by them set in order. Then, after a long while, they learnt the names first of the rest of the gods, which came to them from Egypt, and, much later, the name of Dionysus; and presently they inquired of the oracle at Dodona concerning the names; for this place of divination is held to be the most ancient in Hellas, and at that time it was the only one. When the Pelasgians, then, inquired at Dodona if they should adopt the names that had come from foreign parts, the oracle bade them use the names. From that time onwards they used the names of the gods in their sacrifices; and the Greeks received these later from the Pelasgians.

53. But whence each of the gods came into being, or whether they had all for ever existed, and what outward forms they had, the Greeks knew not till (so to say) a very little while ago; for I suppose that the time of Hesiod and Homer was not more than four hundred years before my own; and these are they who taught the Greeks of the descent of the gods, and gave to all their several names, and honours, and arts, and declared their outward forms. But those poets who are said to be older than Hesiod and Homer were, to my thinking, of later birth. The earlier part of all this is what the priestesses of Dodona tell; the later, that which concerns Hesiod and Homer, is what I myself say.

54. But as concerning the oracles in Hellas, and

<sup>1</sup> On the supposition that *θεοί* meant "a disposer," connected with *θεαμός*, *τίθημι*, etc.

τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ τόνδε Αἰγύπτιοι λόγον λέγουσι. ἔφασαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Θηβαίεος Διὸς δύο γυναῖκας ἱερείας ἐκ Θηβέων ἐξαχθῆναι ὑπὸ Φοινίκων, καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων πυθέσθαι ἐς Λιβύην πρηθεῖσαν τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ταύτας δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας εἶναι τὰς ἰδρυσαμένας τὰ μαντήια πρῶτας ἐν τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι ἔθνεσι. εἰρομένου δέ μιν ὁκόθεν οὕτω ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγουσι, ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα ζήτησιν μεγάλην ἀπὸ σφέων γενέσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν τουτέων, καὶ ἀνευρεῖν μὲν σφέας οὐ δυνατοὶ γενέσθαι, πυθέσθαι δὲ ὕστερον ταῦτα περὶ αὐτέων τά περ δὴ ἔλεγον.

55. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν τῶν ἐν Θήβῃσι ἱερέων ἤκουον, τάδε δὲ Δωδωναίων φασὶ αἱ προμάντιες· δύο πελειάδας μελαίνας ἐκ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτιέων ἀναπταμένας τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην τὴν δὲ παρὰ σφέας ἀπικέσθαι, ἰζομένην δέ μιν ἐπὶ φηγὸν αὐδάξασθαι φωνῇ ἀνθρωπινήῃ ὥς χρὸν εἶη μαντήιον αὐτόθι Διὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβεῖν θεῖον εἶναι τὸ ἐπαγγελλλόμενον αὐτοῖσι, καὶ σφέας ἐκ τούτου ποιῆσαι. τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Λίβυας οἰχομένην πελειάδα λέγουσι Ἀμμωνος χρηστήριον κελεῦσαι τοὺς Λίβυας ποιέειν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Διός. Δωδωναίων δὲ αἱ ἱερεῖαι, τῶν τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ οὐνομα ἦν Προμένηα, τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην Τιμαρέτῃ, τῇ δὲ νεωτάτῃ Νικάνδρῃ, ἔλεγον ταῦτα· συνωμολόγεον δὲ σφι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Δωδωναῖοι οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρόν.

56. Ἐγὼ δ' ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην τήνδε· εἰ ἀληθές οἱ Φοίνικες ἐξήγαγον τὰς ἱρὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην τὴν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπέδοντο, δοκέει ἐμοί ἢ γυνὴ αὕτη τῆς

that one which is in Libya, this is the account given by the Egyptians. The priests of Zeus of Thebes told me that two priestesses had been carried away from Thebes by Phoenicians; one of them (so, they said, they had learnt) was taken away and sold in Libya, and the other in Hellas; these women, they said, were the first founders of places of divination in the countries aforesaid. When I asked them how it was that they could speak with so certain knowledge, they said in reply that their people had sought diligently for these women, and had never been able to find them, but had learnt later the tale which was now told to me.

55. That, then, I heard from the Theban priests; and what follows, is told by the prophetesses of Dodona: to wit, that two black doves had come flying from Thebes in Egypt, one to Libya and one to Dodona; this last settled on an oak tree, and uttered there human speech, declaring that there must be there a place of divination from Zeus; the people of Dodona understood that the message was divine, and therefore they established the oracular shrine. The dove which came to Libya bade the Libyans (so they say) to make an oracle of Ammon; this also is sacred to Zeus. Such was the tale told by the Dodonaean priestesses, of whom the eldest was Promeneia and the next in age Timarete, and the youngest Nicandra; and the rest of the servants of the temple at Dodona likewise held it true.

56. But this is my own belief about it. If the Phoenicians did in truth carry away the sacred women and sell one in Libya and one in Hellas, then to my thinking the part of what is now Hellas, but

νῦν Ἑλλάδος, πρότερον δὲ Πελασγίης καλευμένης τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης, πρηθῆναι ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς, ἔπειτα δουλεύουσα αὐτόθι ἰδρύσασθαι ὑπὸ φηγῷ πεφυκυίῃ ἱρὸν Διός, ὥσπερ ἦν οἶκός ἀμφιπολεύουσιν ἐν Θήβησι ἱρὸν Διός, ἐνθα ἀπρίκετο, ἐνθαῦτα μνήμην αὐτοῦ ἔχει· ἐκ δὲ τούτου χρηστήριον κατηγήσατο, ἐπεῖτε συνέλαβε τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν· φάναι δέ οἱ ἀδελφεὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ πεπρήσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Φοινίκων ὑπ' ὧν καὶ αὐτὴ ἐπρήθη.

57. Πελειάδες δέ μοι δοκέουσι κληθῆναι πρὸς Δωδωναίων ἐπὶ τοῦδε αἱ γυναῖκες, διότι βάρβαροι ἦσαν, ἐδόκεον δέ σφι ὁμοίως ὄρνισι φθέγγεσθαι· μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τὴν πελειάδα ἀνθρωπινήν φωνὴν αὐδάσθαι λέγουσι, ἐπεῖτε συνετά σφι ἡῦδα ἢ γυνή· ἕως δὲ ἐβαρβαρίζε, ὄρνιθος τρόπον ἐδόκεέ σφι φθέγγεσθαι, ἐπεὶ τέφ' ἂν τρόπῳ πελειάς γε ἀνθρωπινήν φωνὴν φθέγγαιτο; μέλαιναν δὲ λέγοντες εἶναι τὴν πελειάδα σημαίνουσι ὅτι Αἴγυπτινὴ ἢ γυνὴ ἦν.

58. Ἡ δὲ μαντήϊν ἢ τε ἐν Θήβησι τῆσι Αἴγυπτίησι καὶ ἐν Δωδώνῃ παραπλήσιαι ἀλλήλησι τυγχάνουσι εἶδους, ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν ἢ μαντικὴ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπιγμένη. πανηγύρις δὲ ἄρα καὶ πομπὰς καὶ προσαγωγὰς πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασι. τεκμήριον δέ μοι τούτου τόδε· αἱ μὲν γὰρ φαίνονται ἐκ πολλοῦ τευ χρόνον ποιούμεναι, αἱ δὲ Ἑλληνικαὶ νεωστὶ ἐποιήθησαν.

59. Πανηγυρίζουσι δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι οὐκ ἄπαξ τοῦ



was formerly called Pelasgia, where this last was sold, was Thesprotia; and presently, being there in slavery, she established a shrine of Zeus under an oak that was growing there; for it was reasonable that as she had been a handmaid of the temple of Zeus at Thebes she should remember that temple in the land to which she had come. After this she taught divination, as soon as she understood the Greek language; and she said that her sister had been sold in Libya by the same Phoenicians who sold her.

57. I suppose that these women were called "doves" by the people of Dodona because they spoke a strange language, and the people thought it like the cries of birds; presently the woman spoke what they could understand, and that is why they say that the dove uttered human speech; as long as she spoke in her foreign language, they thought her voice was like the voice of a bird. For how could a dove utter the speech of men? The tale that the dove was black signifies that the woman was Egyptian.<sup>1</sup>

58. The fashions of divination at Thebes of Egypt and Dodona are like to one another; moreover the practice of divining from the sacrificed victim has also come from Egypt. It would seem too that the Egyptians were the first people to establish solemn assemblies, and processions, and services; the Greeks learnt all this from them. I hold this proved, because the Egyptian ceremonies are manifestly very ancient, and the Greek are of late origin.

59. The Egyptians hold solemn assemblies not

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Herodotus' explanation is right. But the name "doves" may be purely symbolic; thus priestesses of Demeter and Artemis were sometimes called Bees.

ἐνιαυτοῦ, πανηγύρις δὲ συχνάς, μάλιστα μὲν καὶ προθυμώτατα ἐς Βούβαστιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, δεύτερα δὲ ἐς Βούσιριν πόλιν τῇ Ἴσι· ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ δὴ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ μέγιστον Ἴσιος ἱρόν, ἰδρυται δὲ ἡ πόλις αὕτη τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Δέλτα· Ἴσις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Δημήτηρ. τρίτα δὲ ἐς Σάιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ πανηγυρίζουσι, τέταρτα δὲ ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν τῷ Ἡλίῳ, πέμπτα δὲ ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν τῇ Λητοί, ἕκτα δὲ ἐς Πάπρημιν πόλιν τῷ Ἀρεϊ.

60. Ἐς μὲν νυν Βούβαστιν πόλιν ἐπεὰν κομίζονται, ποιεῦσι τοιάδε. πλέουσί τε γὰρ δὴ ἅμα ἄνδρες γυναῖξί καὶ πολλόν τι πλήθος ἐκατέρων ἐν ἐκάστη βάρῃ· αἱ μὲν τινὲς τῶν γυναικῶν κρόταλα ἔχουσαι κροταλίζουσι, οἱ δὲ αὐλέουσι κατὰ πάντα τὸν πλόον, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες αἰεῖδουσι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας κροτέουσι. ἐπεὰν δὲ πλέοντες κατὰ τινα πόλιν ἄλλην γένωνται, ἐγγχρίμψαντες τὴν βάριν τῇ γῇ ποιεῦσι τοιάδε· αἱ μὲν τινὲς τῶν γυναικῶν ποιεῦσι τὰ περ εἶρηκα, αἱ δὲ τωθάζουσι βοῶσαι τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ γυναῖκας, αἱ δὲ ὀρχέονται, αἱ δὲ ἀνασύρονται ἀνιστάμεναι. ταῦτα παρὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν παραποταμὴν ποιεῦσι· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπικῶνται ἐς τὴν Βούβαστιν, ὀρτάζουσι μεγάλας ἀνάγοντες θυσίας, καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος ἵναισιμοῦται πλέων ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ ταύτῃ ἢ ἐν τῷ ἅπαντι ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἐπιλοίῳ. συμφοιτῶσι δὲ, ὅ τι ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή ἐστὶ πλὴν παιδίων, καὶ ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα μυριάδας, ὥς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι.

61. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ ποιέεται, ἐν δὲ Βουσίρι πόλει ὥς ἀνάγουσι τῇ Ἴσι τὴν ὀρτὴν, εἶρηται πρότερόν μοι· τύπτονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίην

once in the year, but often. The chiefest of these and the most zealously celebrated is at the town of Bubastis<sup>1</sup> in honour of Artemis, and the next is that in honour of Isis at Busiris. This town is in the middle of the Egyptian Delta, and there is in it a very great temple of Isis, who is in the Greek language, Demeter. The third greatest festival is at Sais in honour of Athene; the fourth is the festival of the sun at Heliopolis, the fifth of Leto at Buto, and the sixth of Ares at Papremis.

60. When the people are on their way to Bubastis they go by river, men and women together, a great number of each in every boat. Some of the women make a noise with rattles, others play flutes all the way, while the rest of the women, and the men, sing and clap their hands. As they journey by river to Bubastis, whenever they come near any other town they bring their boat near the bank; then some of the women do as I have said, while some shout mockery of the women of the town; others dance, and others stand up and expose their persons. This they do whenever they come beside any riverside town. But when they have reached Bubastis, they make a festival with great sacrifices, and more wine is drunk at this feast than in the whole year beside. Men and women (but not children) are wont to assemble there to the number of seven hundred thousand, as the people of the place say.

61. Such is their practice there; I have already told how they keep the feast of Isis at Busiris. There, after the sacrifice, all the men and women

<sup>1</sup> Bubastis in the Delta, the "city of Pasht," where the cat-headed goddess Pasht (identified by Herodotus with Artemis) was worshipped.

πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλαὶ ἀνθρώπων· τὸν δὲ τύπτονται, οὐ μοι ὅσιον ἐστὶ λέγειν. ὅσοι δὲ Καρῶν εἰσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες, οὗτοι δὲ τοσούτῳ ἔτι πλέω ποιεῦσι τούτων ὅσῳ καὶ τὰ μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίρησι, καὶ τούτῳ εἰσὶ δῆλοι ὅτι εἰσὶ ξεῖνοι καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι.

62. Ἐς Σάιν δὲ πόλιν ἐπεὰν συλλεχθέωσι, τῆς θυσίης ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ λύχνα καίουσι πάντες πολλὰ ὑπαίθρια περὶ τὰ δώματα κύκλῳ· τὰ δὲ λύχνα ἐστὶ ἐμβάφια ἔμπλεα ἀλὸς καὶ ἐλαίου, ἐπιπολῆς δὲ ἔπεστι αὐτὸ τὸ ἐλλύχνιον, καὶ τοῦτο καίεται παννύχιον, καὶ τῇ ὀρτῇ οὖνομα κέεται λυχνοκαΐη. οἱ δ' ἂν μὴ ἐλθῶσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὴν πανηγυριν ταύτην, φυλάσσουντες τὴν νύκτα τῆς θυσίης καίουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες τὰ λύχνα, καὶ οὕτω οὐκ ἐν Σαί μούνη καίεται ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Αἰγυπτον. ὅτεν δὲ εἵνεκα φῶς ἔλαχε καὶ τιμὴν ἢ νύξ αὕτη, ἔστι ἱρὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος λεγόμενος.

63. Ἐς δὲ Ἡλίου τε πόλιν καὶ Βουτοῦν θυσίας μούνας ἐπιτελέουσι φοιτέοντες. ἐν δὲ Παπρήμι θυσίας μὲν καὶ ἱρὰ κατὰ περ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ποιεῦσι· εὐτ' ἂν δὲ γίνηται καταφερῆς ὁ ἥλιος, ὀλίγοι μὲν τινὲς τῶν ἱρέων περὶ τῷγαλμα πεπονέαται, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ξύλων κορύνας ἔχοντες ἐστᾶσι τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ἄλλοι τε εὐχῶλὰς ἐπιτελέοντες πλεῦνες χιλίων ἀνδρῶν, ἕκαστοι ἔχοντες ξύλα καὶ οὗτοι, ἐπὶ τὰ ἑτέρα ἀλέες ἐστᾶσι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα εἶν ἐν νηῷ μικρῷ ξυλίνῳ κατακεχρυσμένῳ προεκκομίζουσι τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐς ἄλλο οἶκημα ἱρόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ὀλίγοι οἱ περὶ τῷγαλμα λελειμμένοι ἔλκουσι τετράκυκλον ἄμαξαν ἄγουσαν τὸν νηόν τε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ νηῷ ἐνεὸν ἄγαλμα, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐῷσι



lament, in countless numbers; but it were profane for me to say who it is for whom they lament. Carian dwellers in Egypt do even more than this, for they cut their foreheads with knives; showing thereby, that they are not Egyptians but strangers.

62. When they assemble at Sais, on the night of the sacrifice, they all keep lamps burning in the open air round about their houses. These lamps are saucers full of salt and oil, the wick floating thereon, and burning all night. This is called the Feast of Lamps. Egyptians who do not come to this assemblage are careful on the night of sacrifice to keep their own lamps burning, and so they are alight not only at Sais but throughout all Egypt. A sacred tale is told showing why this night is thus lit up and honoured.

63. When the people go to Heliopolis and Buto they offer sacrifice only. At Papremis sacrifice is offered and rites performed as elsewhere; but when the sun is sinking, while a few of the priests are left to busy themselves with the image, the greater number of them beset the entrance of the temple, with clubs of wood in their hands; they are confronted by more than a thousand men, all performing vows and all carrying wooden clubs like the rest. The image of the god, in a little wooden gilt casket, is carried on the day before this from the temple to another sacred chamber. The few who are left with the image draw a four-wheeled cart carrying it in its casket; the other priests stand in the temple porch and prevent its

ἐν τοῖσι προπυλαίοισι ἐστεῶτες ἐσιέναι, οἱ δὲ εὐχωλιμαῖοι τιμωρέοντες τῷ θεῷ παίουσι αὐτοὺς ἀλεξομένους. ἐνθαῦτα μάχη ξύλοισι καρτερὴ γίνεται κεφαλὰς τε συναράσσονται, καὶ ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω πολλοὶ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων· οὐ μέντοι οἳ γε Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασαν ἀποθνήσκειν οὐδένα. τὴν δὲ πανήγυριν ταύτην ἐκ τοῦδε νομίσαι φασὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· οἰκέειν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ τοῦ Ἄρεος τὴν μητέρα, καὶ τὸν Ἄρεα ἀποτροφὸν γενόμενον ἐλθεῖν ἐξανδρωμένον ἐθέλοντα τῇ μητρὶ συμμῖξαι, καὶ τοὺς προπόλους τῆς μητρός, οἳα οὐκ ὁπωπότας αὐτὸν πρότερον, οὐ περιορᾶν παριέναι ἀλλὰ ἀπερύκειν, τὸν δὲ ἐξ ἄλλης πόλιος ἀγαγόμενον ἀνθρώπους τοὺς τε προπόλους τρηχέως περισπεῖν καὶ ἐσελθεῖν παρὰ τὴν μητέρα. ἀπὸ τούτου τῷ Ἀρεῖ ταύτην τὴν πληγὴν ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ νενομικέναι φασί.

64. Καὶ τὸ μὴ μίσγεσθαι γυναῖξιν ἐν ἱροῖσι μηδὲ ἀλούτους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἐς ἱρὰ ἐσιέναι οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ πρῶτοι θρησκεύσαντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων, μίσγονται ἐν ἱροῖσι καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἀνιστάμενοι ἀλουτοὶ ἐσέρχονται ἐς ἱρόν, νομίζοντες ἀνθρώπους εἶναι κατὰ περ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα ὁρᾶν καὶ ὀρνίθων γένεα ὀχευόμενα ἐν τε τοῖσι νηοῖσι τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖσι τεμένεσιν εἰ ὧν εἶναι τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο μὴ φίλον, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ τὰ κτήνεα ποιεέειν. οὗτοι μὲν νυν τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγοντες ποιεῦσι ἔμουγε οὐκ ἄρεστά· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ θρησκεύουσι περισσῶς τὰ τε ἄλλα περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ τάδε.

65. Ἐοῦσα ἡ Αἰγυπτος ὁμοῦρος τῇ Λιβύῃ οὐ

entrance; the votaries take the part of the god, and smite the priests, who resist. There is hard fighting with clubs, and heads are broken, and as I think (though the Egyptians told me no life was lost), many die of their wounds. The assemblage, say the people of the country, took its rise thus:—The mother of Ares dwelt in this temple; Ares had been reared away from her, and when he grew to manhood came to hold converse with his mother; but as her attendants, never having seen him before, kept him off and would not suffer him to pass, Ares brought men from another town, roughly handled the attendants, and gained access to his mother. From this, they say, arose this custom of a battle of blows at the festival in honour of Ares.<sup>1</sup>

64. Further, it was the Egyptians who first made it a matter of religious observance not to have intercourse with women in temples, nor enter a temple after such intercourse without washing. Nearly all other men are less careful in this matter than are the Egyptians and Greeks, and hold a man to be like any other animal; for beasts and birds (they say) are seen to mate both in the temples and the sacred precincts; now were this displeasing to the god neither would the beasts do so. This is the reason given by others for practices which I for my part dislike; but the Egyptians in this and in all other matters are exceeding strict against desecration of their temples.

65. Though Egypt has Libya on its borders, it is

<sup>1</sup> It is uncertain what Egyptian deity Herodotus identifies with Ares. In a Greek papyrus, "Ares" is the equivalent for the Egyptian Anhur, a god, apparently, not clearly differentiated from "Shu" or "Heracles."

μάλα θηριώδης ἐστί· τὰ δὲ ἔοντα σφι ἅπαντα ἱρὰ νενόμισται, καὶ τὰ μὲν σύντροφα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, τὰ δὲ οὐ. τῶν δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνεῖται τὰ θηρία ἱρὰ εἰ λέγοιμι, καταβαίην ἂν τῷ λόγῳ ἐς τὰ θεῖα πρήγματα, τὰ ἐγὼ φεύγω μάλιστα ἀπηγγέσθαι· τὰ δὲ καὶ εἶρηκα αὐτῶν ἐπιψάυσας, ἀναγκαίῃ καταλαμβανόμενος εἶπον. νόμος δὲ ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν θηρίων ὧδε ἔχων· μελεδωνοὶ ἀποδεδέχεται τῆς τροφῆς χωρὶς ἐκάστων καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλειαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τῶν παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδέκεται τὴν τιμὴν. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇσι πόλισι ἕκαστοι εὐχὰς τάσδε σφι ἀποτελέουσι· εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἂν ἢ τὸ θηρίον, ξυρῶντες τῶν παιδίων ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἢ τὸ ἥμισυ ἢ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἱστᾶσι σταθμῷ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὰς τρίχας· τὸ δ' ἂν ἐλκύσῃ, τοῦτο τῇ μελεδωνῷ τῶν θηρίων διδοῖ, ἢ δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τάμνουσα ἰχθὺς παρέχει βορὴν τοῖσι θηρίοισι. τροφή μὲν δὴ αὐτοῖσι τοιαύτη ἀποδέδεκται· τὸ δ' ἂν τις τῶν θηρίων τούτων ἀποκτείνῃ, ἣν μὲν ἐκὼν, θάνατος ἢ ζημία, ἣν δὲ ἀέκων, ἀποτίνει ζημίην τὴν ἂν οἱ ἱρέες τάξωνται. ὅς δ' ἂν ἰβιν ἢ ἱρηκα ἀποκτείνῃ, ἣν τε ἐκὼν ἣν τε ἀέκων, τεθνάναι ἀνάγκη.

66. Πολλῶν δὲ ἔοντων ὁμοτρόφων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι θηρίων πολλῷ ἂν ἔτι πλέω ἐγίνετο, εἰ μὴ κατελάμβανε τοὺς αἰελούρους τοιάδε· ἐπεὰν τέκωσι αἱ θήλειαι, οὐκέτι φοιτεύουσι παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας· οἱ δὲ διζήμενοι μίσγεσθαι αὐτῇσι, οὐκ ἔχουσι. πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα σοφίζονται τάδε· ἀρπάζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν θηλέων καὶ ὑπαιρεόμενοι τὰ τέκνα κτείνουσι, κτείναντες μέντοι οὐ πατέονται· αἱ



not a country of many animals. All of them are held sacred ; some of these are part of mens' households and some not ; but were I to declare the reason why they are dedicated, I should be brought to speak of matters of divinity, of which I am especially unwilling to treat ; I have never touched upon such save where necessity has compelled me. But I will now show how it is customary to deal with the animals. Men and women are appointed guardians to provide nourishment for each kind severally ; a son inherits this office from his father. Townsmen in each place, when they pay their vows, make prayer to the god to whom the animal is dedicated, shaving the whole or the half or the third part of their children's heads, and weighing the hair in a balance against a sum of silver ; then whatever be the weight in silver of the hair is given to the female guardian of the creatures, who buys fish with it, cuts them up and feeds them therewith. Thus is food provided for them. Whoever kills one of these creatures with intention is punished with death ; if he kill by mischance he pays whatever penalty the priests appoint. Whoever kills an ibis or a hawk, with intention or without, must die for it.

66. There are many household animals ; and there would be many more, were it not for what happens to the cats. When the females have kittened they will not consort with the males ; and these seek them but cannot get their will of them ; so their device is to steal and carry off and kill the kittens (but they do not eat what they have killed). The mothers,

δὲ στερισκόμεναι τῶν τέκνων, ἄλλων δὲ ἐπιθυμέουσαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀπικνέονται παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας· φιλότεκνον γὰρ τὸ θηρίον. πυρκαϊῆς δὲ γενομένης θεῖα πρήγματα καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αἰελοῦρους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι διαστάντες φυλακὰς ἔχουσι τῶν αἰελοῦρων, ἀμελήσαντες σβεννύναι τὸ καιόμενον, οἱ δὲ αἰέλουροι διαδύνοντες καὶ ὑπερθρώσκοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐσάλλονται ἐς τὸ πῦρ. ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα πένθεα μεγάλα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει. ἐν ὅτέοισι δ' ἂν οἰκίοισι αἰέλουρος ἀποθάνῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, οἱ ἐνοικέοντες πάντες ξυρῶνται τὰς ὀφρύας μούνας, παρ' ὅτέοισι δ' ἂν κύων, πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν.

67. Ἀπάγονται δὲ οἱ αἰέλουροι ἀποθανόντες ἐς ἱρὰς στέγας, ἐνθα θάπτονται ταριχευθέντες, ἐν Βουβάστι πόλει· τὰς δὲ κύνας ἐν τῇ ἐωυτῶν ἑκάστοι πόλει θάπτουσι ἐν ἱρήσι θήκησι. ὥς δὲ αὕτως τῇσι κυσὶ οἱ ἰχνευταὶ θάπτονται. τὰς δὲ μυγαλὰς καὶ τοὺς ἱρηκὰς ἀπάγουσι ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν, τὰς δὲ ἱβίς ἐς Ἑρμέω πόλιν. τὰς δὲ ἄρκτους εἰούσας σπανίας καὶ τοὺς λύκους οὐ πολλῶ τεφρὸντας ἀλωπέκων μέζονας αὐτοῦ θάπτουσι τῇ ἂν εὐρεθέωσι κείμενοι.

68. Τῶν δὲ κροκοδείλων φύσις ἐστὶ τοιήδε. τοὺς χειμεριωτάτους μῆνας τέσσερας ἐσθλεί οὐδέν, εὖν δὲ τετράπουν χερσαῖον καὶ λιμναῖον ἐστί. τίκτει μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐν γῇ καὶ ἐκλέπει, καὶ τὸ πολλὸν τῆς ἡμέρης διατρίβει ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ· θερμότερον γὰρ δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς τε αἰθρίας καὶ τῆς δροσίου. πάντων δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν θνητῶν τοῦτο ἐξ ἐλαχίστου μέγιστον γίνεται· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς χηνέων οὐ πολλῶ μέζονα τίκτει, καὶ ὁ νεοσσὸς κατὰ λόγον

deprived of their young and desiring to have more will then consort with the males; for they are creatures that love offspring. And when a fire breaks out very strange things happen to the cats. The Egyptians stand round in a broken line, thinking more of the cats than of quenching the burning; but the cats slip through or leap over the men and spring into the fire. When this happens, there is great mourning in Egypt. Dwellers in a house where a cat has died a natural death shave their eyebrows and no more; where a dog has so died, the head and the whole body are shaven.

67. Dead cats are taken away into sacred buildings, where they are embalmed and buried, in the town of Bubastis; bitches are buried in sacred coffins by the townsmen, in their several towns; and the like is done with ichneumons. Shrewmice and hawks are taken away to Buto, ibises to the city of Hermes. There are but few bears, and the wolves are little bigger than foxes; both these are buried wherever they are found lying.

68. I will now show what kind of creature is the crocodile. For the four winter months it eats nothing. It has four feet, and lives both on land and in the water, for it lays eggs and hatches them out on land, and it passes the greater part of the day on dry ground, and the night in the river, the water being warmer than the air and dew. No mortal creature known to us grows from so small a beginning to such greatness; for its eggs are not much bigger than goose eggs, and the young crocodile is of a bigness answering

τοῦ φθοῦ γίνεται, αὐξανόμενος δὲ γίνεται καὶ ἐς ἑπτακαίδεκα πήχεας καὶ μέζων ἔτι. ἔχει δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν ὕος, ὀδόντας δὲ μεγάλους καὶ χαυλιόδοντας κατὰ λόγον τοῦ σώματος. γλῶσσαν δὲ μῦνον θηρίων οὐκ ἔφυσε, οὐδὲ κινεῖ τὴν κάτω γνάθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο μῦνον θηρίων τὴν ἄνω γνάθον προσάγει τῇ κάτω. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὄνυχας καρτεροὺς καὶ δέρμα λεπιδωτὸν ἄρρηκτον ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου. τυφλὸν δὲ ἐν ὕδατι, ἐν δὲ τῇ αἰθρίῃ ὀξυδερκέστατον. ἅτε δὴ ὦν ἐν ὕδατι δίαιταν ποιεύμενον, τὸ στόμα ἔνδοθεν φοοεῖ πᾶν μεστὸν βδελλέων. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ὄρνεα καὶ θηρία φεύγει μιν, ὁ δὲ τροχίλος εἰρηναῖον οἱ ἐστὶ ἅτε ὠφελεομένῳ πρὸς αὐτοῦ· ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβῇ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ὁ κροκόδειλος καὶ ἔπειτα χάνῃ (ἔωθε γὰρ τοῦτο ὡς ἐπίπαν ποιέειν πρὸς τὸν ζέφυρον), ἐνθαῦτα ὁ τροχίλος ἐσδύνων ἐς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καταπίνει τὰς βδέλλας· ὁ δὲ ὠφελεύμενος ἡδεται καὶ οὐδὲν σίνεται τὸν τροχίλον.

69. Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱροὶ εἰσι οἱ κροκόδειλοι, τοῖσι δὲ οὐ, ἀλλ' ἅτε πολεμίους περιέπουσι· οἱ δὲ περὶ τε Θήβας καὶ τὴν Μοίριος λίμνην οἰκέοντες καὶ κάρτα ἡγῆνται αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἱρούς· ἐκ πάντων δὲ ἓνα ἐκάτεροι τρέφουσι κροκόδειλον δεδιδαγμένον εἶναι χειροθήρα, ἀρτήματά τε λίθινα χυτὰ καὶ χρύσεια ἐς τὰ ὦτα ἐνθέντες καὶ ἀμφιδέας περὶ τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας, καὶ σιτία ἀποτακτὰ διδόντες καὶ ἱρήμια, καὶ περιέποντες ὡς κάλλιστα ζῶντας· ἀποθανόντας δὲ θάπτουσι ταριχεύοντες ἐν ἱρήσι θήκησι. οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν οἰκέοντες καὶ ἐσθίουσι αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἡγεόμενοι ἱρούς εἶναι. καλέονται δὲ αὐτοὶ κροκόδειλοι



thereto, but it grows to a length of seventeen cubits and more. It has eyes like pigs' eyes, and great teeth and tusks answering to the bigness of its body. It is the only animal that has no tongue. Nor does it move the lower jaw. It is the only creature that brings the upper jaw down upon the lower. It has also strong claws, and a scaly impenetrable hide on its back. It is blind in the water, but very keen of sight in the air. Since it lives in the water, its mouth is all full within of leeches. All birds and beasts flee from it, except only the sandpiper,<sup>1</sup> with which it is at peace, because this bird does the crocodile a service; for whenever the crocodile comes ashore out of the water and then opens its mouth (and this it does for the most part to catch the west wind), the sandpiper goes into its mouth and eats the leeches; the crocodile is pleased by this service and does the sandpiper no harm.

69. Some of the Egyptians hold crocodiles sacred, others do not so, but treat them as enemies. The dwellers about Thebes and the lake Moeris deem them to be very sacred. There, in every place one crocodile is kept, trained to be tame; they put ornaments of glass and gold on its ears and bracelets on its forefeet, provide for it special food and offerings, and give the creatures the best of treatment while they live; after death the crocodiles are embalmed and buried in sacred coffins. But about Elephantine they are not held sacred, and are even eaten. The Egyptians do not call them crocodiles, but champsæ.

<sup>1</sup> Egyptian spur-winged lapwing (*Hoplopterus armatus*).

ἀλλὰ χάμψαι· κροκοδείλους δὲ Ἴωνες ὠνόμασαν, εἰκάζοντες αὐτῶν τὰ εἶδεα τοῖσι παρὰ σφίσι γινόμενοισι κροκοδείλοισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇσι αἵμασιγῇσι.

70. Ἄγραι δὲ σφέων πολλαὶ κατεστᾶσι καὶ παντοῖαι· ἥ δ' ὧν ἔμοιγε δοκέει ἀξιωτάτη ἀπηγήσιος εἶναι, ταύτην γράφω. ἐπεὶ ἄν νῶτον υἱὸς δελεάσῃ περὶ ἄγκιστρον, μετιεῖ ἐς μέσον τὸν ποταμόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ χεῖλεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔχων δέλφακα ζωὴν ταύτην τύπτει. ἐπακούσας δὲ τῆς φωνῆς ὁ κροκόδειλος ἵεται κατὰ τὴν φωνήν, ἐντυχὼν δὲ τῷ νώτῳ καταπίνει· οἱ δὲ ἔλκουσι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξελκυσθῇ ἐς γῆν, πρῶτον ἀπάντων ὁ θηρευτῆς πηλῶ κατ' ὧν ἔπλασε αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας κάρτα εὐπετέως τὰ λοιπὰ χειροῦται, μὴ ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο σὺν πόνῳ.

71. Οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οἱ ποτάμιοι νομῶ μὲν τῷ Παπρημίτῃ ἱροὶ εἰσι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι οὐκ ἱροὶ. φύσιν δὲ παρέχονται ἰδέης τοιήνδε· τετράπουν ἐστί, δίχηλον, ὅπλαι βοός, σιμόν, λοφιὴν ἔχον ἵππου, χαυλιόδοντας φαῖνον, οὐρὴν ἵππου καὶ φωνήν, μέγαθος ὅσον τε βοῦς ὁ μέγιστος· τὸ δέρμα δ' αὐτοῦ οὕτω δὴ τι παχύ ἐστι ὥστε αὐὸν γενομένου ξυστὰ ποιέεσθαι ἀκόντια ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

72. Γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἐνύδριες ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, τὰς ἱρὰς ἡγῆνται εἶναι. νομίζουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τὸν καλούμενον λεπιδωτὸν ἱρὸν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἔγχελυν, ἱρούς δὲ τούτους τοῦ Νείλου φασὶ εἶναι, καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων τοὺς χηνάλωπεκας.

73. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄρνις ἱρός, τῷ οὐνομα φοῖριξ. ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ εἶδον εἰ μὴ ὅσον γραφῇ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ σπάνιος ἐπιφοιτᾷ σφι, δι' ἐτέων,

The Ionians called them crocodiles, from their likeness to the lizards which they have in their walls.<sup>1</sup>

70. There are many and various ways of crocodile hunting; I will write only of that one way which I think most worthy of mention:—The hunter baits a hook with a chine of pork, and lets it float into the midst of the river; he himself stays on the bank with a young live pig, which he beats. Hearing the cries of the pig, the crocodile goes after the sound, and meets the chine, which it swallows; then the hunters pull the line. When the crocodile is drawn ashore, first of all the hunter smears its eyes over with mud; when this is done the quarry is very easily mastered, which, without that, is no light matter.

71. River horses are sacred in the province of Papremis, but not elsewhere in Egypt. For their outward form, they are four-footed, with cloven hoofs like oxen; their noses are blunt; they are maned like horses, with tusks showing, and have a horse's tail and a horse's neigh; their bigness is that of the biggest oxen. Their hide is so thick that when it is dried spearshafts are made of it.

72. Otters also are found in the river, which the Egyptians deem sacred; and they hold sacred that fish too which is called the scale-fish, and the eel. These, and the fox-goose<sup>2</sup> among birds, are said to be sacred to the god of the Nile.

73. Another bird also is sacred; it is called the phoenix. I myself have never seen it, but only pictures of it; for the bird comes but seldom into Egypt,

<sup>1</sup> *κροκόδειλοι* is Ionic for a lizard; the commoner word is *σαύρα* or *σαῦρας*. *χάμψα* is the Egyptian "em-suh," a name which survives in the Arabic "timsah," i.e. em-suh with the feminine article prefixed.

<sup>2</sup> Or "Nile-goose." The Egyptian goose (*Chenalopec Aegyptica*).

ὥς Ἡλιοπολῖται λέγουσι, πεντακοσίων φοιτᾶν δὲ τότε φασὶ ἐπεὰν οἱ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ πατήρ. ἔστι δέ, εἰ τῇ γραφῇ παρόμοιος, τοσόσδε καὶ τοιόσδε τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ χρυσόκομα τῶν πτερῶν τὰ δὲ ἐρυθρὰ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα· αἰετῷ περιήγησιν ὁμοιότατος καὶ τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦτον δὲ λέγουσι μηχανᾶσθαι τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες· ἐξ Ἀραβίης ὀρμώμενον ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Ἥλιου κομίζειν τὸν πατέρα ἐν σμύρνῃ ἐμπλάσσουντα καὶ θάπτειν ἐν τοῦ Ἥλιου τῷ ἱρῷ, κομίζειν δὲ οὕτω· πρῶτον τῆς σμύρνης ῥῶν πλάσσειν ὅσον τε δυνατός ἐστι φέρειν, μετὰ δὲ πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὸ φορέοντα, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποπειρηθῇ, οὕτω δὴ κοιλήναντα τὸ ῥῶν τὸν πατέρα ἐς αὐτὸ ἐντιθέναι, σμύρνη δὲ ἄλλῃ ἐμπλάσσειν τοῦτο κατ' ὃ τι τοῦ ῥῶν ἐκκοιλήνας ἐνέθηκε τὸν πατέρα· ἐσκειμένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς γίνεσθαι τῷντὸ βάρους ἐμπλάσαντα δὲ κομίζειν μιν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐς τοῦ Ἥλιου τὸ ἱρὸν. ταῦτα μὲν τοῦτον τὸν ὄρνιν λέγουσι ποιεῖν.

74. Εἰσὶ δὲ περὶ Θήβας ἱροὶ ὄφιοι, ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμῶς δηλήμονες, οἳ μεγάθει ἑόντες μικροὶ δύο κέρεια φορέουσι πεφυκότα ἐξ ἄκρης τῆς κεφαλῆς· τοὺς θάπτουσι ἀποθανόντας ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Διὸς· τούτου γὰρ σφέας τοῦ θεοῦ φασὶ εἶναι ἱρούς.

75. Ἔστι δὲ χώρος τῆς Ἀραβίης κατὰ Βουτοῦν πόλιν μάλιστα κη κείμενος, καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἦλθον πυνθανόμενος περὶ τῶν πτερωτῶν ὀφίων· ἀπικόμενος δὲ εἶδον ὅστέα ὀφίων καὶ ἀκάνθας πλήθει μὲν ἀδύνατα ἀπηγήσασθαι, σωροὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀκανθέων καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ ὑποδεέστεροι καὶ ἐλάσσονες ἔτι τούτων, πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι. ἔστι δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος, ἐν τῷ αἰ ἀκανθαι κατακεχύαται.



once in five hundred years, as the people of Heliopolis say. It is said that the phoenix comes when his father dies. If the picture truly shows his size and appearance, his plumage is partly golden but mostly red. He is most like an eagle in shape and bigness. The Egyptians tell a tale of this bird's devices which I do not believe. He comes, they say, from Arabia bringing his father to the Sun's temple enclosed in myrrh, and there buries him. His manner of bringing is this: first he moulds an egg of myrrh as heavy as he can carry, and when he has proved its weight by lifting it he then hollows out the egg and puts his father in it, covering over with more myrrh the hollow in which the body lies; so the egg being with his father in it of the same weight as before, the phoenix, after enclosing him, carries him to the temple of the Sun in Egypt. Such is the tale of what is done by this bird.

74. Near Thebes there are sacred snakes, harmless to men, small in size and bearing two horns on the top of their heads. These, when they die, are buried in the temple of Zeus, to whom they are said to be sacred.

75. Not far from the town of Buto, there is a place in Arabia to which I went to learn about the winged serpents. When I came thither, I saw innumerable bones and backbones of serpents; many heaps of backbones there were, great and small and smaller still. This place, where lay the backbones

τοιόσδε τις, ἐσβολὴ ἐξ ὀρέων στεινῶν ἐς πεδίον μέγα, τὸ δὲ πεδίον τοῦτο συνάπτει τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ πεδίῳ. λόγος δὲ ἐστὶ ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πτερωτὸν ὄφιν ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίης πέτεσθαι ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου, τὰς δὲ ἱβίς τὰς ὀρνίθας ἀπαντώσας ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτης τῆς χώρας οὐ παριέναι τοὺς ὄφιν ἀλλὰ κατακτείνειν. καὶ τὴν ἱβιν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον τετιμῆσθαι λέγουσι Ἀράβιοι μεγάλως πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων· ὁμολογέουσι δὲ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι διὰ ταῦτα τιμᾶν τὰς ὀρνίθας ταύτας.

76. Εἶδος δὲ τῆς μὲν ἱβίος τόδε· μέλαινα δεινῶς πᾶσα, σκέλεα δὲ φορέει γεράνου, πρόσωπον δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπίγρυπον, μέγαθος ὅσον κρέξ. τῶν μὲν δὴ μελαινέων τῶν μαχομενέων πρὸς τοὺς ὄφιν ἦδε ἰδέη, τῶν δ' ἐν ποσὶ μᾶλλον εἰλευμενέων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι (διξαὶ γὰρ δὴ εἰσι ἱβίς) ψιλὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν δειρὴν πᾶσαν, λευκὴ πτεροῖσι πλὴν κεφαλῆς καὶ αὐχένος καὶ ἀκρέων τῶν πτερύγων καὶ τοῦ πυγαίου ἄκρου (ταῦτα δὲ τὰ εἶπον πάντα μέλανα ἐστὶ δεινῶς), σκέλεα δὲ καὶ πρόσωπον ἐμφερὲς τῇ ἐτέρῃ. τοῦ δὲ ὄφιος ἡ μορφή οἷα περ τῶν ὑδρῶν, πτίλα δὲ οὐ πτερωτὰ φορέει ἀλλὰ τοῖσι τῆς νυκτερίδος πτεροῖσι μάλιστά κη ἐμφερέστατα.

Τοσαῦτα μὲν θηρίων πέρι ἱρῶν εἰρήσθω.

77. Αὐτῶν δὲ δὴ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν σπειρομένην Αἰγυπτον οἰκέουσι, μνήμην ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέοντες μάλιστα λογιώτατοι εἰσὶ μακρῷ τῶν ἐγὼ ἐς διάπειραν ἀπικόμην, τρόπῳ δὲ ζῆς τοιῷδε διαχρέωνται· συρμαίζουσιν τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ἐπεξῆς μηνὸς ἐκάστου, ἐμέτοισι θηρώμενοι τὴν ὑγίειν καὶ κλύσμασι, νομίζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τρε-

scattered, is where a narrow mountain pass opens into a great plain, which is joined to the plain of Egypt. Winged serpents are said to fly at the beginning of spring, from Arabia, making for Egypt; but the ibis birds encounter the invaders in this pass and kill them. The Arabians say that the ibis is greatly honoured by the Egyptians for this service, and the Egyptians give the same reason for honouring these birds.

76. Now this is the appearance of the ibis. It is all deep black, with legs like a crane's, and a beak strongly hooked; its size is that of a landrail. Such is the outward form of the ibis which fights with the serpents. Those that most consort with men (for the ibis is of two kinds)<sup>1</sup> have all the head and neck bare of feathers; their plumage is white, save the head and neck and the tips of wings and tail (these being deep black); the legs and beak of the bird are like those of the other ibis. The serpents are like water-snakes. Their wings are not feathered but most like the wings of a bat.

I have now said enough concerning creatures that are sacred.

77. Among the Egyptians themselves, those who dwell in the cultivated country are the most careful of all men to preserve the memory of the past, and none whom I have questioned have so many chronicles. I will now speak of the manner of life which they use. For three following days in every month they purge themselves, pursuing after health by means of emetics and drenches; for they think

<sup>1</sup> *Geronticus Calvus* and *Ibis Aethiopicus*.

φόντων σιτίων πάσας τὰς νούσους τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι γίνεσθαι. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ Δίβυας ὑγιηρέστατοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ὥρέων δοκέειν ἐμοὶ εἶνεκα, ὅτι οὐ μεταλλάσσουσι αἱ ὥραι· ἐν γὰρ τῇσι μεταβολῇσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι αἱ νοῦσοι μάλιστα γίνονται τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὥρέων μάλιστα. ἄρτοφαγέουσι δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀλυρέων ποιεῦντες ἄρτους, τοὺς ἐκεῖνοι κυλλήστις ὀνομάζουσι. οἶνω δὲ ἐκ κριθέων πεποιημένῳ διαχρέωνται· οὐ γὰρ σφι εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἄμπελοι. ἰχθύων δὲ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς ἥλιον αὐήναντες ὠμούς σιτέονται, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ ἄλμης τεταριχευμένους. ὀρνίθων δὲ τοὺς τε ὀρτυγας καὶ τὰς νήσσας καὶ τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ὀρνίθων ὠμὰ σιτέονται προταριχεύσαντες. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα ἢ ὀρνίθων ἢ ἰχθύων σφι ἐστὶ ἐχόμενα, χωρὶς ἢ ὁκόσοι σφι ἱροὶ ἀποδεδέχαται, τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀπτοὺς καὶ ἐφθοὺς σιτέονται.

78. Ἐν δὲ τῇσι συνουσίῃσι τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν, ἐπεὰν ἀπὸ δείπνου γένωνται, περιφέρει ἀνὴρ νεκρὸν ἐν σορῶ ξύλινον πεποιημένον, μεμιημένον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ γραφῇ καὶ ἔργῳ, μέγαθος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον<sup>1</sup> ἢ δίπηχυν, δεικνὺς δὲ ἐκάστῳ τῶν συμποτέων λέγει “Ἐς τοῦτον ὥρέων πίνε τε καὶ τέρπεν· ἔσσαι γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τοιοῦτος.” ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια ποιεῦσι.

79. Πατρίοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτῶνται· τοῖσι ἄλλα τε ἐπάξια ἐστὶ νόμιμα, καὶ δὴ καὶ αἶσμα ἔν ἐστι, Λίνος, ὅσπερ ἐν τε Φοινίκη αἰοίδιμος ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ καὶ ἄλλῃ, κατὰ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πάντῃ πηχυαῖον; Stein brackets πάντῃ, “a cubit’s length every way” being unintelligible here.



it is from the food which they eat that all sicknesses come to men. Even without this, the Egyptians are the healthiest of all men, next to the Libyans; the reason of which to my thinking is that the climate in all seasons is the same; for change is the great cause of men's falling sick, more especially changes of seasons. They eat bread, making loaves which they call "cyllestis"<sup>1</sup> of coarse grain. For wine, they use a drink made of barley; for they have no vines in their country. They eat fish uncooked, either dried in the sun or preserved with brine. Quails and ducks and small birds are salted and eaten raw; all other kinds of birds, as well as fish (except those that the Egyptians hold sacred) are eaten roast and boiled.

78. At rich men's banquets, after dinner a man carries round a wooden image of a corpse in a coffin, painted and carved in exact imitation, a cubit or two cubits long. This he shows to each of the company, saying "Drink and make merry, but look on this; for such shalt thou be when thou art dead." Such is the custom at their drinking-bouts.

79. They keep the ordinances of their fathers, and add none others to them. Among other notable customs of theirs is this, that they have one song, the Linus-song,<sup>2</sup> which is sung in Phoenice and Cyprus

<sup>1</sup> Loaves twisted to a point, apparently.

<sup>2</sup> This is the hymn for a slain youth (said to typify the departure of early summer), Thammuz, Atya, Hylas, or Linus; the Semitic refrain *ai lenu*, "alas for us," becomes the Greek *αἰλινος*, from which comes the name Linus.

μέντοι ἔθνεα οὖνομα ἔχει, συμφέρεται δὲ αὐτὸς εἶναι τὸν οἱ "Ἕλληνες Λίνον ὀνομάζοντες αἰίδουσι, ὥστε πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποθωμάζειν με τῶν περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἑόντων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Λίνον ὁκόθεν ἔλαβον τὸ οὖνομα· φαίνονται δὲ αἰεὶ κοτε τοῦτον αἰδόντες. ἔστι δὲ Αἴγυπτιστὶ ὁ Λίνος καλούμενος Μανερῶς. ἔφασαν δὲ μιν Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου παῖδα μονογενέα γενέσθαι, ἀποθανόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον θρήνοισι τούτοις ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων τιμηθῆναι, καὶ αἰοιδῆν τε ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μούνην σφίσι γενέσθαι.

80. Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τότε ἄλλο Αἰγύπτιοι 'Ελλήνων μούνην Λακεδαιμονίοισι· οἱ νεώτεροι αὐτῶν τοῖσι πρεσβυτέροισι συντυγχάνοντες εἰκουσι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἐκτράπονται καὶ ἐπιούσι ἐξ ἑορῆς ὑπανιστέαται. τότε μέντοι ἄλλοισι 'Ελλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι συμφέρονται· ἀντὶ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι προσκυνέουσι κατιέντες μέχρι τοῦ γούνατος τὴν χεῖρα.

81. 'Ενδεδύκασι δὲ κιθῶνας λινέους περὶ τὰ σκέλεα θυσανωτοῦς, τοὺς καλέουσι καλασίρις· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ εἰρίνεα εἴματα λευκὰ ἐπαναβληδὸν φορέουσι. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τὰ ἱρὰ ἐσφέρεται εἰρίνεα οὐδὲ συγκαταθάπτεται σφί· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον. ὁμολογέουσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι 'Ορφικοῖσι καλεομένοις καὶ Βακχικοῖσι, ἐοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ Πυθαγορείοισι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ὀργίων μετέχοντα ὅσιον ἐστὶ ἐν εἰρινέοισι εἴμασι θαφθῆναι. ἐστὶ δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱρὸς λόγος λεγόμενος.

82. Καὶ τὰδε ἄλλα Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐστὶ ἐξευρημένα, μείς τε καὶ ἡμέρη ἐκάστη θεῶν ὅτεν ἐστί,

and elsewhere; each nation has a name of its own for this, but it is the same song that the Greeks sing, and call Linus; wherefore it is to me one of the many strange things in Egypt, whence the Egyptians got the name. Plainly they have ever sung this song; the name for Linus in Egyptian is Maneros.<sup>1</sup> The Egyptians told me that Maneros was the only son of their first king, who died untimely, and this dirge was sung by the Egyptians in his honour; and this, they said, was their earliest and their only chant.

80. There is a custom too which no Greeks save the Lacedaemonians have in common with the Egyptians:—younger men, when they meet their elders, turn aside and give place to them in the way, and rise from their seats when an older man approaches. But they have another custom which is nowhere known in Greece: passers-by do not address each other, but salute by lowering the hand to the knee.

81. They wear linen tunics with fringes hanging about the legs, called "calasiris," and loose white woollen mantles over these. But nothing of wool is brought into temples, or buried with them; that is forbidden. In this they follow the same rule as the ritual called Orphic and Bacchic, but which is in truth Egyptian and Pythagorean; for neither may those initiated into these rites be buried in woollen wrappings. There is a sacred legend about this.

82. I pass to other inventions of the Egyptians. They assign each month and each day to some god;

<sup>1</sup> Maneros, probably from the refrain *ma-n-āra*, "come back to us."

καὶ τῇ ἑκάστος ἡμέρῃ γενόμενος ὁτέοισι ἐγκυρήσει καὶ ὁκῶς τελευτήσει καὶ ὁκοῖός τις ἔσται. καὶ τούτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἐν ποιήσι γενόμενοι ἐχρήσαντο. τέρατά τε πλέω σφί ἀνεύρηται ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἅπασι ἀνθρώποις· γενομένου γὰρ τέρατος φυλάσσουνσι γραφόμενοι τῷποβαῖνον, καὶ ἦν κοτε ὕστερον παραπλήσιον τούτῳ γένηται, κατὰ τὸντὸ νομίζουσι ἀποβήσεσθαι.

83. Μαντική δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὧδε διακέεται· ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδενὶ προσκέεται ἡ τέχνη, τῶν δὲ θεῶν μετεξετέροις· καὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλέος μαντήιον αὐτόθι ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀθηναίης καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἄρεος καὶ Διός, καὶ τό γε μάλιστα ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται πάντων τῶν μαντηίων, Λητοῦς ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλει ἐστὶ. οὐ μέντοι αἱ γε μαντηῖαι σφί κατὰ τὸντὸ ἐστᾶσι, ἀλλὰ διάφοροι εἰσὶ.

84. Ἡ δὲ ἱητρικὴ κατὰ τάδε σφί δεδασται· μῆς νούσου ἑκάστος ἱητρὸς ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ πλεόνων. πάντα δ' ἱητρῶν ἐστὶ πλέα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν ἱητροὶ κατεστᾶσι, οἱ δὲ κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ ὀδόντων, οἱ δὲ τῶν κατὰ νηδύν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀφανέων νούσων.

85. Θρήνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαί σφρων εἰσὶ αἰδὲ τοῖσι ἂν ἀπογένηται ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἄνθρωπος τοῦ τις καὶ λόγος ἦ, τὸ θῆλυ γένος πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων τούτων κατ' ὧν ἐπλάσατο τὴν κεφαλὴν πηλῷ ἢ, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, κᾶπειτα ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοις λιπούσαι τὸν νεκρὸν αὐταὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν στρωφόμεναι τύπτονται ἐπεζωσμένοι καὶ φαίνουσαι τοὺς μαζούς, σὺν δὲ σφί αἱ προσήκουσαι πᾶσαι, ἐτέρωθεν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, τύπτονται ἐπεζωμένοι καὶ οὔτοι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, οὕτω ἐς τὴν ταρίχευσιν κομίζουσι.



they can tell what fortune and what end and what disposition a man shall have according to the day of his birth. This has given material to Greeks who deal in poetry. They have made themselves more omens than all other nations together; when an ominous thing happens they take note of the outcome and write it down; and if something of a like kind happen again they think it will have a like result.

83. As to the art of divination among them, it belongs to some of the gods, but to no one among men; there are in their country oracles of Heracles, Apollo, Athene, Artemis, Ares, and Zeus, and (which is the most honoured of all) of Leto in the town of Buto. Nevertheless they have diverse ways of divination, not one only.

84. The practice of medicine is so divided among them, that each physician is a healer of one disease and no more. All the country is full of physicians, some of the eye, some of the teeth, some of what pertains to the belly, and some of the hidden diseases.

85. They mourn and bury the dead as I will show. Whenever a man of note is lost to his house by death, all the womenkind of the house daub their faces or heads with mud; then, with all the women of their kin, they leave the corpse in the house, and roam about the city lamenting, with their garments girt round them and their breasts showing; and the men too lament in their place, with garments girt likewise. When this is done, they take the dead body to be embalmed.]

86. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατέαται καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι ταύτην. οὗτοι, ἐπεὰν σφί κομισθῇ νεκρός, δεικνύουσι τοῖσι κομίσασι παραδείγματα νεκρῶν ξύλινα, τῇ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα<sup>1</sup> . . . , καὶ τὴν μὲν σπουδαιοτάτην αὐτέων φασὶ εἶναι τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιεῦμαι τὸ οὔνομα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ὀνομάζειν, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν δεικνύουσι ὑποδεεστέραν τε ταύτης καὶ εὐτελεστέραν, τὴν δὲ τρίτην εὐτελεστάτην· φράσαντες δὲ πυνθάνονται παρ' αὐτῶν κατὰ ἥντινα βούλονται σφί σκευασθῆναι τὸν νεκρόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐκποδῶν μισθῷ ὁμολογήσαντες ἀπαλλάσσονται, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειπόμενοι ἐν οἰκήμασι ὧδε τὰ σπουδαιοτάτα ταριχεύουσι. πρῶτα μὲν σκολιῷ σιδήρῳ διὰ τῶν μυξωτήρων ἐξάγουσι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ οὕτω ἐξάγοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐγγέοντες φάρμακα· μετὰ δὲ λίθῳ Λίθιοπικῷ ὀξύει παρασχίσαντες παρὰ τὴν λαπάρην ἐξ ὧν εἶλον τὴν κοιλίην πᾶσαν, ἐκκαθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ διηθήσαντες οἶνῳ φοινικίῳ αὐτὶς διηθέουσι θυμῆμασι τετριμμένοισι· ἔπειτα τὴν νηδὺν σμύρνης ἀκηράτου τετριμμένης καὶ κασίης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυμημάτων, πλὴν λιβανωτοῦ, πλήσαντες συρράπτουσι ὀπίσω. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ταριχεύουσι λίτρῳ κρύψαντες ἡμέρας ἐβδομήκοντα· πλεῖνας δὲ τουτέων οὐκ ἔξεστι ταριχεύειν. ἐπεὰν δὲ παρέλθωσι αἱ ἐβδομήκοντα, λούσαντες τὸν νεκρὸν κατειλίσσουσι πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα σινδόνης βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι κατετμημένοισι, ὑποχρίοντες τῷ κόμμι, τῷ δὴ ἀντὶ κόλλης τὰ πολλὰ χρέωνται Αἰγύπτιοι. εἰθεῦτεν δὲ παραδεξάμενοί μιν οἱ προσήκοντες ποιεῦνται ξύλινον τύπον ἀνθρωποειδέα, ποιησάμενοι δὲ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. appear to show indications of a lacuna here.

86. There are men whose whole business this is and who have this special craft. These, when a dead body is brought to them, show the bringers wooden models of corpses, painted in exact imitation; the most perfect manner of embalming belongs, they say, to One whose name it were profane for me to speak in treating of such matters; the second way, which they show, is less perfect than the first, and cheaper, and the third is the least costly of all. Having shown these, they ask the bringers of the body in which fashion they desire to have it prepared. The bearers, having agreed in a price, go their ways, and the workmen, left behind in their place, embalm the body. If they do this in the most perfect way, they first draw out part of the brain through the nostrils with an iron hook, and inject certain drugs into the rest. Then, making a cut near the flank with a sharp knife of Ethiopian stone, they take out all the intestines, and clean the belly, rinsing it with palm wine and bruised spices; and presently, filling the belly with pure ground myrrh and casia and any other spices, save only frankincense, they sew up the anus. Having done this, they conceal the body for seventy days, embalmed in saltpetre; no longer time is allowed for the embalming; and when the seventy days are past they wash the body and wrap the whole of it in bandages of fine linen cloth, anointed with gum, which the Egyptians mostly use instead of glue; which done, they give back the dead man to his friends. These make a hollow wooden figure like a man, in

ἐσεργυνῶσι τὸν νεκρόν, καὶ κατακληίσαντες οὕτω  
θησαυρίζουσι ἐν οἰκῇματι θηκαίῳ, ἱστάντες ὀρθὸν  
πρὸς τοῖχον.

87. Οὕτω μὲν τοὺς τὰ πολυτελέστατα σκευά-  
ζουσι νεκρούς, τοὺς δὲ τὰ μέσα βουλομένους τὴν  
δὲ πολυτελείην φεύγοντας σκευάζουσι ὧδε· ἐπεὰν  
τοὺς κλυστήρας πλήσωνται τοῦ ἀπὸ κέδρου ἀλεί-  
φατος γνωμένου, ἐν ᾧν ἔπλησαν τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν  
κοιλίην, οὔτε ἀναταμόντες αὐτὸν οὔτε ἐξελόντες  
τὴν νηδύν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔδρην ἐσηθήσαντες καὶ ἐπι-  
λαβόντες τὸ κλύσμα τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ тариχεύουσι  
τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας, τῇ δὲ τελευταίῃ ἐξιείσι  
ἐκ τῆς κοιλίης τὴν κεδρίην τὴν ἐσήκαν πρότερον.  
ἡ δὲ ἔχει τοσαύτην δύναμιν ὥστε ἅμα ἐωυτῇ τὴν  
νηδὺν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα κατατετηκότα ἐξάγει·  
τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ λίτρον κατατῆκει, καὶ δὴ λείπε-  
ται τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ δέρμα μόνον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα.  
ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, ἀπ' ᾧν ἔδωκαν οὕτω  
τὸν νεκρόν, οὐδὲν ἔτι πρηγματευθέντες.

88. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη тарίχευσις ἐστὶ ἡδε, ἥ τοὺς  
χρήμασι ἀσθενεστέρους σκευάζει· συρμαίῃ διηθή-  
σαντες τὴν κοιλίην тариχεύουσι τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα  
ἡμέρας καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπ' ᾧν ἔδωκαν ἀποφέρεσθαι.

89. Τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν,  
ἐπεὰν τελευτήσωσι, οὐ παραντίκα διδοῦσι тари-  
χεύειν, οὐδὲ ὅσαι ἂν ἔωσι εὐειδέες κάρτα καὶ λόγου  
πλεῦνος γυναῖκες· ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν τριταῖαι ἢ τεταρ-  
ταῖαι γένωνται, οὕτω παραδιδούσι τοῖσι тари-  
χεύουσι. τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῦσι οὕτω τοῦδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα  
μή σφι οἱ тариχευταὶ μίσγωνται τῇσι γυναιξί·  
λαμφθῆναι γὰρ τινὰ φασὶ μισγόμενον νεκρῷ  
προσφάτῳ γυναικός, κατειπεῖν δὲ τὸν ὁμότεχνον.



which they enclose the corpse, shut it up, and preserve it safe in a coffin-chamber, placed erect against a wall.

87. This is how they prepare the dead who have wished for the most costly fashion<sup>1</sup>; those whose wish was for the middle and less costly way are prepared in another fashion. The embalmers charge their syringes with cedar oil and therewith fill the belly of the dead man, making no cut, nor removing the intestines, but injecting the drench through the anus and checking it from returning; then they embalm the body for the appointed days; on the last day they let the oil which they poured in pass out again. It has so great power that it brings away the inner parts and intestines all dissolved; the flesh is eaten away by the saltpetre, and in the end nothing is left of the body but skin and bone. Then the embalmers give back the dead body with no more ado.

88. When they use the third manner of embalming, which is the preparation of the poorer dead, they cleanse the belly with a purge, embalm the body for the seventy days and then give it back to be taken away.

89. Wives of notable men, and women of great beauty and reputation, are not at once given over to the embalmers, but only after they have been dead for three or four days; this is done, that the embalmers may not have carnal intercourse with them. For it is said that one was found having intercourse with a woman newly dead, and was denounced by his fellow-workman.

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς τὰ πολυτελείστατα, &c. βουλομένους.

90. Ὅς δ' ἂν ἡ αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἢ ξείνων ὁμοίως ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου ὕρπασθεις ἢ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φαίνεται τεθνεώς, κατ' ἣν ἂν πόλιν ἐξενειχθῇ, τούτους πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ταριχεύσαντας αὐτὸν καὶ περιστείλαντας ὥς κάλλιστα θάψαι ἐν ἱρήσι θήκησι· οὐδὲ ψαῦσαι ἔξεστι αὐτοῦ ἄλλον οὐδένα οὔτε τῶν προσηκόντων οὔτε τῶν φίλων, ἀλλὰ μιν αἱ ἱέρες αὐτοὶ τοῦ Νείλου ἄτε πλέον τι ἢ ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν χειραπτάζοντες θάπτουσι.

91. Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μὴδ' ἄλλων μῆδαμὰ μῆδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι οὕτω τοῦτο φυλάσσουνσι, ἔστι δὲ Χέμμης πόλις μεγάλη νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ ἐγγὺς Νέης πόλιος· ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης ἱρὸν τετράγωνον, πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ φοίνικες πεφύκασι. τὰ δὲ πρόπυλα τοῦ ἱροῦ λίθινα ἐστὶ κάρτα μεγάλα· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἀνδριάντες δύο ἐστᾶσι λίθινοι μεγάλοι. ἐν δὲ τῷ περιβεβλημένῳ τούτῳ νηὸς τε ἔνι καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνέστηκε τοῦ Περσέος. οὗτοι οἱ Χεμμῖται λέγουσι τὸν Περσέα πολλάκις μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν γῆν φαίνεσθαι σφί πολλῶν δὲ ἔσω τοῦ ἱροῦ, σανδάλιόν τε αὐτοῦ πεφορημένον εὐρίσκεσθαι ἐὼν τὸ μέγαθος δίπηχυ, τὸ ἐπεὰν φανῇ, εὐθηνέειν ἅπασαν Αἴγυπτον. ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι, ποιεῦσι δὲ τάδε Ἑλληνικά τῷ Περσεῖ· ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθεῖσι διὰ πάσης ἀγωνίης ἔχοντα, παρέχοντες ἄεθλα κτήνεα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ δέρματα. εἰρομένου δέ μιν ὅ τι σφί μούνοισι ἔωθε ὁ Περσεὺς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι καὶ ὅ τι κεχωρίδαται Αἰγυπτίων τῶν ἄλλων ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθέντες,

90. When anyone, be he Egyptian or stranger, is known to have been carried off by a crocodile or drowned by the river itself, such an one must by all means be embalmed and tended as fairly as may be and buried in a sacred coffin by the townsmen of the place where he is cast up; nor may any of his kinsfolk or his friends touch him, but his body is deemed something more than human, and is handled and buried by the priests of the Nile themselves.

91. The Egyptians shun the use of Greek customs, and (to speak generally) the customs of any other men whatever. Yet, though the rest are careful of this, there is a great city called Chemmis, in the Theban province, near the New City; in this city is a square temple of Perseus son of Danae, in a grove of palm trees. The colonnade before this temple is of stone, very great; and there stand at the entrance two great stone statues. In this outer court there is a shrine with an image of Perseus standing in it. The people of this Chemmis say that Perseus is often seen up and down this land, and often within the temple, and that the sandal he wears is found, and it is two cubits long; when that is seen, all Egypt prospers. This is what they say; and their doings in honour of Perseus are Greek, in that they celebrate games comprising every form of contest, and offer animals and cloaks and skins as prizes. When I asked why Perseus appeared to them alone, and why, unlike all other Egyptians, they celebrate games,

ἔφασαν τὸν Περσέα ἐκ τῆς ἐωυτῶν πόλιος γεγενῆσθαι· τὸν γὰρ Δαναὸν καὶ τὸν Λυγκέα ἔοντας Χερμίτας ἐκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενεηλογέοντες κατέβαινον ἐς τὸν Περσέα. ἀπικόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἴγυπτον κατ' αἰτίην τὴν καὶ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, οἷσόντα ἐκ Λιβύης τὴν Γοργοῦς κεφαλὴν, ἔφασαν ἔλθειν καὶ παρὰ σφέας καὶ ἀναγνῶναι τοὺς συγγενέας πάντας· ἐκμεμαθηκότα δὲ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον τὸ τῆς Χέρμιος οὔνομα, πεπυσμένον παρὰ τῆς μητρός. ἀγῶνα δὲ οἱ γυμνικὸν αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπιτελέειν.

92. Ταῦτα μὲν πάντα οἱ κατύπερθε τῶν ἐλέων οἰκέοντες Αἰγύπτιοι νομίζουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐν τοῖσι ἔλεσι κατοικημένοι τοῖσι μὲν αὐτοῖσι νόμοισι χρέωνται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ γυναικὶ μὴ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν συνοικέει κατὰ περ Ἕλληνες, ἀτὰρ πρὸς εὐτελείην τῶν σιτίων τάδε σφί ἄλλα ἐξεύρηται. ἐπεὰν πλήρης γένηται ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίσῃ, φύεται ἐν τῷ ὕδατι κρίνεα πολλά, τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτὸν· ταῦτ' ἐπεὰν δρέψωσι ἀναίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ λωτοῦ, τῇ μήκωνι ἔον ἐμφερές, πτίσαντες ποιεῦνται ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄρτους ὀπτοὺς πυρί. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ λωτοῦ τούτου ἐδωδίμη καὶ ἐγγλύσσει ἐπιεικέως, ἔον στρογγύλον, μέγαθος κατὰ μῆλον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κρίνεα ῥόδοισι ἐμφερέα, ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ γινόμενα καὶ ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ καρπὸς ἐν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι παραφυομένη ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης γίνεται, κηρίῳ σφηκῶν ἰδέην ὁμοιότατον· ἐν τούτῳ τρωκτὰ ὅσον τε πυρὴν ἐλαίης ἐγγίνεται συχνά, τρώγεται δὲ καὶ ἀπαλὰ ταῦτα καὶ αὐα. τὴν δὲ βύβλον τὴν ἐπέτειον γινομένην



they told me that Perseus was by lineage of their city; for Danaus and Lynceus, who voyaged to Greece, were of Chemmis; and they traced descent from these down to Perseus. They told too how when he came to Egypt for the reason alleged also by the Greeks—namely, to bring the Gorgon's head from Libya—he came to Chemmis too and recognised all his kin; and how before he came to Egypt he had heard the name of Chemmis from his mother. It was at his bidding, said they, that they celebrated the games.

92. All these are the customs of Egyptians who dwell above the marsh country. Those who inhabit the marshes have the same customs as the rest, both in other respects, and in that each man has one wife, as in Greece. They have, besides, devised means to make their food less costly. When the river is in flood and overflows the plains, many lilies, which the Egyptians call lotus, grow in the water. They pluck these and dry them in the sun, then they crush the poppy-like centre of the plant and bake loaves of it. The root also of this lotus is eatable, and of a sweetish taste; it is round, and of the bigness of an apple. Other lilies also grow in the river, which are like roses; the fruit of these is found in a calyx springing from the root by a separate stalk, and is most like to a comb made by wasps; this produces many eatable seeds as big as an olive-stone, which are eaten both fresh and dried. They use also the byblus which

ἐπεὰν ἀνασπάσῃσι ἐκ τῶν ἐλέων, τὰ μὲν ἄνω αὐτῆς ἀποτάμνοντες ἐς ἄλλο τι τράπουσι, τὸ δὲ κάτω λελειμμένον ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πῆχυν τρώγουσι καὶ πωλέουσι.<sup>1</sup> οἱ δὲ ἂν καὶ κάρτα βούλωνται χρηστῇ τῇ βύβλῳ χρᾶσθαι, ἐν κλιβάνῳ διαφανεί πνίξαντες οὕτω τρώγουσι. οἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν ζῶσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων μούνον, τοὺς ἐπεὰν λάβῃσι καὶ ἐξέλῃσι τὴν κοιλίην, αὐαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον καὶ ἔπειτα θύους ἑόντας σιτέονται.

93. Οἱ δὲ ἰχθύες οἱ ἀγελαῖοι ἐν μὲν τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι οὐ μάλα γίνονται, τρεφόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῇσι λίμνῃσι τοιάδε ποιεῦσι. ἐπεὰν σφεας ἐσίῃ οἷστρος κυῖσκεσθαι, ἀγελῆδὸν ἐκπλώουσι ἐς θάλασσαν· ἡγέονται δὲ οἱ ἔρσενες ἀπορραίνοντες τοῦ θοροῦ, αἱ δὲ ἐπόμεναι ἀνακάπτουσι καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κυύσκονται. ἐπεὰν δὲ πλήρεις γένωνται ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἀναπλώουσι ὀπίσω ἐς ἡθεα τὰ ἐωυτῶν ἕκαστοι, ἡγέονται μέντοι γε οὐκέτι οἱ αὐτοί, ἀλλὰ τῶν θηλέων γίνεται ἡ ἡγεμονίη· ἡγεύμεναι δὲ ἀγελῆδὸν ποιεῦσι οἷον περ ἐποίειν οἱ ἔρσενες· τῶν γὰρ ὤων ἀπορραίνουσι κατ' ὀλίγους τῶν κέγχρων, οἱ δὲ ἔρσενες καταπίνουσι ἐπόμενοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ κέγχροι οὗτοι ἰχθύες. ἐκ δὲ τῶν περιγινομένων καὶ μὴ καταπινομένων κέγχρων οἱ τρεφόμενοι ἰχθύες γίνονται. οἱ δ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἀλώσι ἐκπλώνοντες ἐς θάλασσαν, φαίνονται τετριμμένοι τὰ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τῶν κεφαλῶν, οἱ δ' ἂν ὀπίσω ἀναπλώνοντες, τὰ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τετρίφεται. πάσχουσι δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τόδε· ἐχόμενοι τῆς γῆς ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ καταπλώουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀναπλώνοντες ὀπίσω τῆς αὐτῆς

<sup>1</sup> Stein brackets καὶ πωλέουσι, as being inappropriate; it should perhaps come after τράπουσι above.

grows annually: it is plucked from the marshes, the top of it cut off and turned to other ends, and the lower part, about a cubit's length, eaten or sold. Those who wish to use the byblus at its very best bake it before eating in a redhot oven. Some live on fish alone. They catch the fish, take out the intestines, then dry them in the sun and eat them dried.

93. Fish that go in shoals do not often come to birth in the river; they are reared in the lakes, and this is the way with them: when the desire of spawning comes on them, they swim out to sea in shoals, the males leading, and throwing out their seed, while the females come after and swallow it and so conceive. When the females have become pregnant in the sea, then all the fish swim back to their homes; but now it is the females and not the males who lead the way, going before in a shoal, and (like the males) throwing off ever and anon a few of their eggs (which are like millet-seeds), which the males devour as they follow. These millet-seeds, or eggs, are fish. It is from the surviving eggs, which are not devoured, that the fish which grow come to the birth. Those fish that are caught while swimming seawards show bruises on the left side of their heads; those that are caught returning, on the right side. This happens to them because as they swim seawards they keep close to the left bank, and hold

ἀντέχονται, ἐγχριμπτόμενοι καὶ ψαύοντες ὥς μά-  
λιστα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ἀμάρτοιεν τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ τὸν ῥόον.  
ἐπεὰν δὲ πληθύνεσθαι ἄρχηται ὁ Νεῖλος, τὰ τε  
κοῖλα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ τέλματα τὰ παρὰ τὸν  
ποταμὸν πρῶτα ἄρχεται πίμπλασθαι διηθέοντος  
τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ αὐτίκα τε πλέα  
γίνεται ταῦτα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἰχθύων σμικρῶν  
πίμπλαται πάντα. κόθεν δὲ οἶκός αὐτοὺς γίνε-  
σθαι, ἐγὼ μοι δοκέω κατανοεῖν τοῦτο· τοῦ προ-  
τέρου ἔτεος ἐπεὰν ἀπολίπη ὁ Νεῖλος, οἱ ἰχθύες  
ἐντεκόντες φῶα ἐς τὴν ἰλὺν ἅμα τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ὕδατι  
ὑπαλλάσσονται· ἐπεὰν δὲ περιελθόντος τοῦ χρόνου  
πάλιν ἐπέλθῃ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκ τῶν ῥῶν τούτων παρ-  
αυτίκα γίνονται οἱ ἰχθύες οὗτοι.

94. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τοὺς ἰχθύας οὕτω ἔχει. ἀλεί-  
φατι δὲ χρέωνται Αἰγυπτίων οἱ περὶ τὰ ἔλεα  
οἰκέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν σιλλικυπρίων τοῦ καρποῦ, τὸ  
καλεῦσι μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι κίκι, ποιεῦσι δὲ ὧδε.  
παρὰ τὰ χεῖλεα τῶν τε ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν λιμνέων  
σπεύρουσι τὰ σιλλικύπρια ταῦτα, τὰ ἐν Ἑλλήσι  
αὐτόματα ἄγρια φύεται· ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ  
σπειρόμενα καρπὸν φέρει πολλὸν μὲν δυσώδεα δὲ  
τοῦτον ἐπεὰν συλλέξωνται, οἱ μὲν κόψαντες ἀπι-  
ποῦσι, οἱ δὲ καὶ φρύξαντες ἀπέψουσι, καὶ τὸ  
ἀπορρέον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συγκομίζονται. ἔστι δὲ πῖον  
καὶ οὐδὲν ἥσσον τοῦ ἐλαίου τῷ λύχνῳ προσηνές.  
ὁδμὴν δὲ βαρέαν παρέχεται.

95. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κώνωπας ἀφθόρους ἑόντας  
τάδε σφί ἐστὶ μεμηχανημένα. τοὺς μὲν τὰ ἄνω  
τῶν ἐλέων οἰκέοντας οἱ πύργοι ὠφελέουσιν, ἐς τοὺς  
ἀναβαίνοντες κοιμῶνται· οἱ γὰρ κώνωπες ὑπὸ  
τῶν ἀνέμων οὐκ οἰοί τε εἰσὶ ὑψοῦ πέτεσθαι. τοῖσι



to the same bank also in their return, grazing it and touching it as much as they may, I suppose lest the current should make them miss their course. When the Nile begins to rise, hollow and marshy places near the river are the first to begin to fill, the water trickling through from the river, and as soon as they are flooded they are suddenly full of little fishes. Whence it is like that these come into being I believe that I can guess. When the Nile falls, the fish have spawned into the mud before they leave it with the last of the water; and as the time comes round, and in the next year the flood comes again, this spawn at once gives birth to these fishes.

94. So much then for the fishes. The Egyptians who live about the marshes use an oil drawn from the castor-berry, which they call kiki. They sow this plant on the banks of the rivers and lakes; it grows wild in Hellas; in Egypt it produces abundant but ill-smelling fruit, which is gathered, and either bruised and pressed, or boiled after roasting, and the liquid that comes from it collected. This is thick and as useful as oil for lamps, and gives off a strong smell.

95. Gnats are abundant; this is how the Egyptians protect themselves against them: those who dwell higher up than the marshy country are well served by the towers whither they ascend to sleep, for the winds prevent the gnats from flying aloft; those

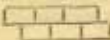
δὲ περὶ τὰ ἔλεα οἰκέουσι τάδε ἀντὶ τῶν πύργων ἄλλα μεμηχάνηται· πᾶς ἀνὴρ αὐτῶν ἀμφίβληστρον ἔκτηται, τῷ τῆς μὲν ἡμέρης ἰχθῦς ἀγρεύει, τὴν δὲ νύκτα τάδε αὐτῷ χρᾶται· ἐν τῇ ἀναπαύεται κοίτῃ, περὶ ταύτην ἴσθησι τὸ ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ ἔπειτα ἐνδὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸ κατεύδει. οἱ δὲ κώνωπες, ἣν μὲν ἐν ἱματίῳ ἐνειλιξάμενος εὖδῃ ἢ σινδόνι, διὰ τούτων δάκνουσι, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δικτύου οὐδὲ πειρῶνται ἀρχήν.

96. Τὰ δὲ δὴ πλοῖά σφι, τοῖσι φορτηγέουσι, ἐστὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀκάνθης ποιούμενα, τῆς ἢ μορφῇ μὲν ἐστὶ ὁμοιοτάτῃ τῷ Κυρηναίῳ λωτῷ, τὸ δὲ δάκρυον κόμμι ἐστὶ. ἐκ ταύτης ὧν τῆς ἀκάνθης κοψάμενοι ξύλα ὅσον τε διπήχεα πλινθηδὸν συντιθεῖσι ναυπηγέμενοι τρόπον τοιόνδε· περὶ γόμφους πυκνοὺς καὶ μακροὺς περιείρουσι τὰ διπήχεα ξύλα· ἐπεὰν δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ναυπηγήσωνται, ζυγὰ ἐπιπολῆς τείνουσι αὐτῶν· νομεῦσι δὲ οὐδὲν χρέωνται· ἔσωθεν δὲ τὰς ἀρμονίας ἐν ὧν ἐπάκτωσαν τῇ βύβλῳ. πηδάλιον δὲ ἐν ποιεῦνται, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τῆς τρόπιος διαβύνεται. ἰστῷ δὲ ἀκανθίνῳ χρέωνται, ἰστίοισι δὲ βυβλίνοισι. ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα ἀνὰ μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ δύναται πλέειν, ἣν μὴ λαμπρὸς ἄνεμος ἐπέχῃ, ἐκ γῆς δὲ παρέλκεται, κατὰ ῥόον δὲ κομίζεται ὧδε· ἔστι ἐκ μυρίκης πεποιημένη θύρη, κατερραμμένη ῥίκεϊ καλάμων, καὶ λίθος τετρημένος διτάλαντος μάλιστά κη σταθμόν· τούτων τὴν μὲν θύρην δεδεμένην κάλῳ ἔμπροσθε τοῦ πλοίου ἀπικεῖ ἐπιφέρεσθαι, τὸν δὲ λίθον ἄλλῳ κάλῳ ὀπισθε. ἡ μὲν δὴ θύρη τοῦ ῥόου ἐμπίπτοντος χωρέει ταχέως καὶ ἔλκει τὴν βάριν (τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ οὖνομα ἐστὶ

living about the marshes have a different device, instead of the towers. Every man of them has a net, with which he catches fish by day, and for the night he sets it round the bed where he rests, then creeps under it and so sleeps. If he sleep wrapped in a garment or cloth, the gnats bite through it; but through the net they do not even try at all to bite.

96. The boats in which they carry cargo are made of the acacia,<sup>1</sup> which is in form most like to the lotus of Cyrene, and its sap is gum. Of this tree they cut logs of two cubits length and lay them like courses of bricks,<sup>2</sup> and build the boat by making these two-cubit logs fast to long and close-set stakes; and having so built they set crossbeams athwart and on the logs. They use no ribs. They caulk the seams within with byblus. There is one rudder, passing through a hole in the boat's keel. The mast is of acacia-wood and the sails of byblus. These boats cannot move upstream unless a brisk breeze continue; they are towed from the bank; but downstream they are thus managed: they have a raft made of tamarisk wood, fastened together with matting of reeds, and a pierced stone of about two talents' weight; the raft is let go to float down ahead of the boat, made fast to it by a rope, and the stone is made fast also by a rope to the after part of the boat. So, driven by the current, the raft floats swiftly and tows the "baris" (which is the name of

<sup>1</sup> The "Mimosa Nilotica," still used for boat-building in Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> That is, like bricks laid not one directly over another but with the joints alternating: 

τοῖσι πλοίοισι τούτοις), ὁ δὲ λίθος ὀπισθε ἐπελκόμενος καὶ ἔων ἐν βυσσῷ κατιθύνει τὸν πλόον. ἔστι δὲ σφί τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα πλήθει πολλά, καὶ ἄγει ἓνια πολλὰς χιλιάδας ταλάντων.

97. Ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐπέλθῃ ὁ Νεῖλος τὴν χώραν, αἱ πόλεις μῦναι φαίνονται ὑπερέχουσai, μάλιστα κη ἐμπερέες τῇσι ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πόντῳ νήσοισι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῆς Αἰγύπτου πέλαγος γίνεται, αἱ δὲ πόλεις μῦναι ὑπερέχουσι. πορθμεύονται ὦν, ἐπεὰν τοῦτο γένηται, οὐκέτι κατὰ τὰ ῥέεθρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου. ἐς μὲν γε Μέμφιν ἐκ Ναυκράτιος ἀναπλώοντι παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς πυραμίδας γίνεται ὁ πλόος· ἔστι δὲ οὐδ' οὗτος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ ὄξυ τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ παρὰ Κερκάσσωρον πόλιν· ἐς δὲ Ναύκρατιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ Κανώβου διὰ πεδίου πλέων ἤξεις κατ' Ἀνθυλλάν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἀρχάνδρου καλευμένην.

98. Τουτέων δὲ ἡ μὲν Ἀνθυλλα ἐοῦσα λογίμη πόλις ἐς ὑποδήματα ἐξαίρετος δίδοται τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου τῇ γυναικί (τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ἐξ ὅσου ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος), ἡ δὲ ἐτέρη πόλις δοκέει μοι τὸ οὔνομα ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαναοῦ γαμβροῦ Ἀρχάνδρου τοῦ Φθίου τοῦ Ἀχαιοῦ· καλέεται γὰρ δὴ Ἀρχάνδρου πόλις. εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλος τις Ἀρχανδρος, οὐ μέντοι γε Αἰγύπτιον τὸ οὔνομα.

99. Μέχρι μὲν τούτου ὄψις τε ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορίη ταῦτα λέγουσα ἐστί, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούδε Αἰγυπτίους ἔρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων κατὰ τὰ ἤκουον προσέσται δὲ αὐτοῖσί τι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψιος. Μίνα τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα Αἰγύπτου οἱ



these boats,) and the stone dragging behind on the river bottom keeps the boat's course straight. There are many of these boats; some are of many thousand talents' burden.

97. When the Nile overflows the land, the towns alone are seen high and dry above the water, very like to the islands in the Aegean sea. These alone stand out, the rest of Egypt being a sheet of water. So when this happens folk are ferried not, as is their wont, in the course of the stream, but clean over the plain. From Naucratis indeed to Memphis the boat going upwards passes close by the pyramids themselves;<sup>1</sup> the usual course is not this, but by the Delta's point and the town Cercasorus: but your voyage from the sea and Canobus to Naucratis will take you over the plain near the town of Anthylla and that which is called Archandrus' town.

98. Anthylla is a town of some name, and is specially assigned to the consort of the reigning king of Egypt, for the provision of her shoes. This has been done since Egypt has been under Persian dominion. The other town, I think, is named after Archandrus son of Phthius the Achaean, and son-in-law of Danaus; for it is called Archandrus' town. It may be that there was another Archandrus; but the name is not Egyptian.

99. Thus far all I have said is the outcome of my own sight and judgment and inquiry. Henceforth I will record Egyptian chronicles, according to that which I have heard, adding thereto somewhat of what I myself have seen. The priests told me that Min was the first king of Egypt, and that first he

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of these words is not clear. Some think that they mean "though here the course is not so" and that perhaps δ δωδύς has been lost after αἶρος.

ίριες ἔλεγον τοῦτο μὲν ἀπογεφυρῶσαι τὴν Μέμφιν. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πάντα ῥέειν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ψάμμινον πρὸς Λιβύης, τὸν δὲ Μῖνα ἄνωθεν, ὅσον τε ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀπὸ Μέμφιος, τὸν πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἀγκῶνα προσχώσαντα τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηρῆναι, τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ὀχετεῦσαι τὸ μέσον τῶν ὁρέων ῥέειν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Περσέων ὁ ἀγκῶν οὗτος τοῦ Νείλου ὡς ἀπεργμένος ῥέῃ ἐν φυλακῇσι μεγάλῃσι ἔχεται, φρασσόμενος ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· εἰ γὰρ ἐβελήσῃ ῥήξας ὑπερβῆναι ὁ ποταμὸς ταύτῃ, κίνδυνος πάσῃ Μέμφι κατακλυσθῆναι ἐστί. ὡς δὲ τῷ Μῖνι τούτῳ τῷ πρώτῳ γενομένῳ βασιλείῃ χέρσον γεγονέναι τὸ ἀπεργμένον, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ πόλιν κτίσαι ταύτην ἣτις νῦν Μέμφις καλέεται· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἡ Μέμφις ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ τῆς Αἰγύπτου· ἔξωθεν δὲ αὐτῆς περιορύξαι λίμνην ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς βορέην τε καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην (τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ αὐτὸς ὁ Νεῖλος ἁπέργει), τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν ἰδρύσασθαι ἐν αὐτῇ, εὖν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιαπληγντότατον.

100. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον κατέλεγον οἱ ἱριες ἐκ βύβλου ἄλλων βασιλέων τριηκοσίων καὶ τριήκοντα οὐτόματα. ἐν τοσαύτῃσι δὲ γενεῇσι ἀνθρώπων ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν Αἰθίοπες ἦσαν, μία δὲ γυνὴ ἐπιχωρὶή, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἄνδρες Αἰγύπτιοι. τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ οὐνομα ἦν, ἣτις ἐβασίλευσε, τό περ τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ, Νίτωκρις· τὴν ἔλεγον τιμωρέουσιν ἀδελφεῷ, τὸν Αἰγύπτιοι βασιλεύοντα σφέων ἀπέκτειναν, ἀποκτείναντες δὲ οὕτω ἐκείνῃ ἀπέδωσαν τὴν βασιλείην, τούτῳ τιμωρέουσιν πολλοὺς Αἰγυπτίων

separated Memphis from the Nile by a dam. All the river had flowed close under the sandy mountains on the Libyan side, but Min made the southern bend of it which begins about an hundred furlongs above Memphis, by damming the stream; thereby he dried up the ancient course, and carried the river by a channel so that it flowed midway between the hills. And to this day the Persians keep careful guard over this bend of the river, strengthening its dam every year, that it may keep the current in; for were the Nile to burst his dykes and overflow here, all Memphis were in danger of drowning. Then, when this first king Min had made what he thus cut off to be dry land, he first founded in it that city which is now called Memphis—for even Memphis lies in the narrow part of Egypt—and outside of it he dug a lake to its north and west, from the river (the Nile itself being the eastern boundary of the place); and secondly, he built in it the great and most noteworthy temple of Hephaestus.

100. After him came three hundred and thirty kings, whose names the priests recited from a papyrus roll. In all these many generations there were eighteen Ethiopian kings, and one queen, native to the country; the rest were all Egyptian men. The name of the queen was the same as that of the Babylonian princess, Nitocris. She, to avenge her brother (he was king of Egypt and was slain by his subjects, who then gave Nitocris the sovereignty) put

διαφθεῖραι δόλω. ποιησαμένην γάρ μιν οἶκημα περίμηκες ὑπόγαιον καινοῦν τῷ λόγῳ, νόφ δὲ ἄλλα μηχανᾶσθαι· καλέσασαν δέ μιν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς μάλιστα μεταιτίους τοῦ φόνου ἤδεε πολλοὺς ἰστιᾶν, δαινυμένοισι δὲ ἐπεῖναι τὸν ποταμὸν δι' αὐλῶνος κρυπτοῦ μεγάλου. ταύτης μὲν πέρι τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον, πλὴν ὅτι αὐτὴν μιν, ὥς τοῦτο ἐξέργαστο, ρίψαι ἐς οἶκημα σποδοῦ πλέον, ὅκως ἀτιμώρητος γένηται.

101. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βασιλέων οὐ γὰρ ἔλεγον οὐδεμίαν ἔργων ἀποδέξιν καὶ οὐδὲν εἶναι λαμπρότητος, πλὴν ἑνὸς τοῦ ἐσχάτου αὐτῶν Μοίριος· τοῦτον δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι μνημόσυνα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τετραμμένα προπύλαια, λίμνην τε ὀρύξαι, τῆς ἡ περιόδου ὅσων ἐστὶ σταδίων ὑστερον δηλώσω, πυραμίδας τε ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοδομῆσαι, τῶν τοῦ μεγάλθεος πέρι ὁμοῦ αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ ἐπιμνήσομαι· τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδένα οὐδέν.

102. Παραμειψάμενος ὦν τούτους τοῦ ἐπὶ τούτοις γενομένου βασιλέως, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σέσωστρις, τούτου μνήμην ποιήσομαι· τὸν ἔλεγον οἱ ἱεεὶς πρῶτον μὲν πλοίοισι μακροῖσι ὀρμηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου τοὺς παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν κατοικημένους καταστρέφεσθαι, ἐς ὃ πλέοντά μιν πρόσω ἀπικέσθαι ἐς θάλασσαν οὐκέτι πλωτὴν ὑπὸ βραχέων. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπίκητο ἐς Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ τῶν ἱρέων τὴν φάτιν, πολλὴν στρατιὴν τῶν . . <sup>1</sup> λαβὼν ἤλαυνε διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου, πᾶν ἔθνος τὸ ἐμποδὼν καταστρεφόμενος.

<sup>1</sup> A word is omitted, perhaps ἤρχεν; τῶν ἤρχεν = of his subjects.



many of the Egyptians to death by guile. She built a spacious underground chamber; then, with the pretence of handselling it, but with far other intent in her mind, she gave a great feast, inviting to it those Egyptians whom she knew to have been most concerned in her brother's murder; and while they feasted she let the river in upon them by a great and secret channel. This was all that the priests told of her, save that also when she had done this she cast herself into a chamber full of hot ashes, thereby to escape vengeance.

101. But of the other kings they related no achievement or deed of great note, save of Moeris, who was the last of them. This Moeris was remembered as having built the northern forecourt of the temple of Hephaestus, and dug a lake, of as many furlongs in circuit as I shall later show; and built there pyramids also, the size of which I will mention when I speak of the lake. All this was Moeris' work, they said; of none of the rest had they anything to record.

102. Passing over these, therefore, I will now speak of the king who came after them, Sesostris.<sup>1</sup> This king, said the priests, set out with a fleet of long ships<sup>2</sup> from the Arabian Gulf and subdued all the dwellers by the Red Sea, till as he sailed on he came to a sea which was too shallow for his vessels. After returning thence back to Egypt, he gathered a great army (according to the story of the priests) and marched over the mainland, subduing every nation to

<sup>1</sup> Rameses II., called by the Greeks Sesostris; said to have ruled in the fourteenth century B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Ships of war.

ότεοῖσι μὲν νυν αὐτῶν ἀλκίμοισι ἐνετύγχανε καὶ δεινῶς γλιχομένοισι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, τούτοις μὲν στήλας ἐνίστη ἐς τὰς χώρας διὰ γραμμάτων λεγούσας τὸ τε ἑωυτοῦ ὄνομα καὶ τῆς πατρὸς, καὶ ὡς δυνάμει τῇ ἑωυτοῦ κατεστρέψατο σφέας· ὅτεων δὲ ἀμαχητὶ καὶ εὐπετέως παρέλαβε τὰς πόλεις, τούτοις δὲ ἐνέγραφε ἐν τῇσι στήλῃσι κατὰ ταῦτά καὶ τοῖσι ἀνδρῆίοις τῶν ἐθνέων γενομένοις, καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰδοῖα γυναικὸς προσενέγραφε, δῆλα βουλόμενος ποιέειν ὡς εἶψαν ἀνάλκιδες.

103. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιέων διεξήκει τὴν ἡπειρον, ἐς δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διαβὰς τοὺς τε Σκύθας κατεστρέψατο καὶ τοὺς Θρήκας. ἐς τούτους δέ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ προσώτατα ἀπικέσθαι ὁ Αἰγύπτιος στρατός· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ τούτων χώρῃ φαίνονται σταθεῖσαι αἱ στήλαι, τὸ δὲ προσωτέρῳ τούτων οὐκέτι. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐπιστρέψας ὀπίσω ἦμε, καὶ ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Φάσι ποταμῷ, οὐκ ἔχω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν εἴτε αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις ἀποδασάμενος τῆς ἑωυτοῦ στρατιῆς μόριον ὅσον δὴ αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε τῆς χώρας οἰκήτορας, εἴτε τῶν τινες στρατιωτέων τῇ πλὴνῃ αὐτοῦ ἀχθεσθέντες περὶ Φάσιν ποταμὸν κατέμειναν.

104. Φαίνονται μὲν γὰρ εἶντες οἱ Κόλχοι, Αἰγύπτιοι, νοήσας δὲ πρότερον αὐτὸς ἢ ἀκούσας ἄλλων λέγω. ὡς δέ μοι ἐν φροντίδι ἐγένετο, εἰρόμην ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κόλχοι ἐμμενέατο τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἢ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν Κόλχων· νομίζειν δ' ἔφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῆς Σεσώστριος στρατιῆς εἶναι τοὺς Κόλχους. αὐτὸς

which he came. When those that he met were valiant men and strove hard for freedom, he set up pillars in their land whereon the inscription showed his own name and his country's, and how he had overcome them with his own power; but when the cities had made no resistance and been easily taken, then he put an inscription on the pillars even as he had done where the nations were brave; but he drew also on them the privy parts of a woman, wishing to show clearly that the people were cowardly.

103. Thus doing he marched over the country till he had passed over from Asia to Europe and subdued the Scythians and Thracians. Thus far and no farther, I think, the Egyptian army went; for the pillars can be seen standing in their country, but in none beyond it. Thence he turned about and went back homewards; and when he came to the Phasis river, it may be (for I cannot speak with exact knowledge) that King Sesostris divided off some part of his army and left it there to dwell in the country, or it may be that some of his soldiers grew weary of his wanderings, and stayed by the Phasis.

104. For it is plain to see that the Colchians are Egyptians; and this that I say I myself noted before I heard it from others. When I began to think on this matter, I inquired of both peoples; and the Colchians remembered the Egyptians better than the Egyptians remembered the Colchians; the Egyptians said that they held the Colchians to be part of Sesostris' army. I myself guessed it to be

δὲ εἴκασα τῇδε, καὶ ὅτι μελάγχροες εἰσὶ καὶ οὐλότριχες. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐς οὐδὲν ἀνήκει· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι· ἀλλὰ τοῖσιδε καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅτι μῦνοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων Κόλχοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περιτάμνονται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα. Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Σύριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογέουσιν παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι, Σύριοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Θερμώδοντα καὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν καὶ Μάκρωνες οἱ τούτοις ἀστυγείτονες ἐόντες ἀπὸ Κόλχων φασὶ νεωστὶ μεμαθηκέναι. οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσὶ οἱ περιταμνόμενοι ἀνθρώπων μῦνοι, καὶ οὗτοι Αἰγυπτίοις φαίνονται ποιεῦντες κατὰ ταυτά. αὐτῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Αἰθιόπων οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὁκότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἐτέρων ἐξέμαθον· ἀρχαῖον γὰρ δὴ τι φαίνεται εἶναι. ὥς δὲ ἐπιμισγόμενοι Αἰγύπτῳ ἐξέμαθον, μέγα μοι καὶ τόδε τεκμήριον γίνεται· Φοινίκων ὁκόσοι τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπιμίσγονται, οὐκέτι Αἰγυπτίους μιμέονται κατὰ τὰ αἰδοῖα, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων οὐ περιτάμνουσι τὰ αἰδοῖα.

105. Φέρε νῦν καὶ ἄλλο εἶπω περὶ τῶν Κόλχων, ὥς Αἰγυπτίοις προσφερέες εἰσὶ· λίνον μῦνοι οὗτοί τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐργάζονται καὶ κατὰ ταυτά, καὶ ἡ ζῶη πᾶσα καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα ἐμφερὴς ἐστὶ ἀλλήλοισι. λίνον δὲ τὸ μὲν Κολχικὸν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σαρδωνικὸν κέκληται, τὸ μέντοι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπικνεύμενον καλέεται Αἰγύπτιον.

106. Αἰ δὲ στήλαι τὰς ἴστα κατὰ τὰς χώρας ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις, αἱ μὲν πλεῖνες



so, partly because they are dark-skinned and woolly-haired; though that indeed goes for nothing, seeing that other peoples, too, are such; but my better proof was that the Colchians and Egyptians and Ethiopians are the only nations that have from the first practised circumcision. The Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine acknowledge of themselves that they learnt the custom from the Egyptians, and the Syrians of the valleys of the Thermodon and the Parthenius, as well as their neighbours the Macrones, say that they learnt it lately from the Colchians. These are the only nations that circumcise, and it is seen that they do even as the Egyptians. But as to the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I cannot say which nation learnt it from the other; for it is manifestly a very ancient custom. That the others learnt it from intercourse with Egypt I hold to be clearly proved by this—that Phoenicians who hold intercourse with Hellas cease to imitate the Egyptians in this matter and do not circumcise their children.

105. Nay, and let me speak of another matter in which the Colchians are like to the Egyptians: they and the Egyptians alone work linen, and have the same way, a way peculiar to themselves, of working it; and they are alike in all their manner of life, and in their speech. Linen has two names: the Colchian kind is called by the Greeks Sardonian;<sup>1</sup> that which comes from Egypt is called Egyptian.

106. As to the pillars which Sesostriis, king of Egypt, set up in the countries, most of them are no

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be no reason for connecting Colchian linen with Sardinia (as *Σαρδωνίδα* would imply). The Colchian word may have had a similar sound.

οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιεοῦσαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ αὐτὸς ὥρων εἰσάσας καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ εἰρημένα ἐνεόντα καὶ γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην δύο τύποι ἐν πέτρῃσι ἐγκεκολασμένοι τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός, τῇ τε ἐκ τῆς Ἐφεσίου ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔρχονται καὶ τῇ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σμύρνην. ἐκατέρωθι δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐγγέγλυπται μέγας πέμπτῃς σπιθαμῆς, τῇ μὲν δεξιῇ χειρὶ ἔχων αἰχμὴν τῇ δὲ ἀριστερῇ τόξα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σκευὴν ὡσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ Αἰγυπτίην καὶ Αἰθιοπίδα ἔχει· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὤμου ἐς τὸν ἕτερον ὤμον διὰ τῶν στηθέων γράμματα ἱρὰ Αἰγύπτια διήκει ἐγκεκολασμένα, λέγοντα τάδε· “Ἐγὼ τήνδε τὴν χώραν ὥμοισι τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι ἐκτησάμην.” ὅστις δὲ καὶ ὁκόθεν ἐστὶ, ἐνθαῦτα μὲν οὐ δηλοῖ, ἐτέρωθι δὲ δεδήλωκε· τὰ δὲ καὶ μετεξέτεροι τῶν θεησαμένων Μέμνονος εἰκόνα εἰκάζουσι μιν εἶναι, πολλὸν τῆς ἀληθείης ἀπολελειμμένοι.

107. Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Σέσωστριν, ἀναχωρέοντα καὶ ἀνάγοντα πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, ἔλεγον οἱ ἱεεῖς, ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐν Δάφνησι τῇσι Πηλουσίησι, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἐαυτοῦ, τῷ ἐπέτρεψε, ὁ Σέσωστρις τὴν Αἴγυπτον, τοῦτον ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτὸν καλέσαντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τοὺς παῖδας περινήσαι ἔξωθεν τὴν οἰκίην ὕλη, περινήσαντα δὲ ὑποπρῆσαι. τὸν δὲ ὡς μαθεῖν τοῦτο, αὐτίκα συμβουλευέσθαι τῇ γυναικί· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτὸν ἅμα ἄγεσθαι· τὴν δὲ οἱ συμβουλευῆσαι τῶν παίδων ἰόντων ἕξ τοὺς δύο ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείναντα γεφυρῶσαι τὸ καίωμενον, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐπ’ ἐκείνων ἐπιβαίνοντας ἐκσώζεσθαι. ταῦτα ποιῆσαι τὸν Σέσωστριν, καὶ δύο

longer to be seen. But I myself saw them in the Palestine part of Syria, with the writing aforesaid and the women's privy parts upon them. Also there are in Ionia two figures<sup>1</sup> of this man carven in rock, one on the road from Ephesus to Phocaea, and the other on that from Sardis to Smyrna. In both places there is a man of a height of four cubits and a half cut in relief, with a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left, and the rest of his equipment answering thereto; for it is both Egyptian and Ethiopian; and right across the breast from one shoulder to the other there is carven a writing in the Egyptian sacred character, saying: "I myself won this land with the might of my shoulders." There is nothing here to show who he is and whence he comes, but it is shown elsewhere. Some of those who have seen these figures guess them to be Memnon, but they are far indeed from the truth.

107. Now when this Egyptian Sesostris (so said the priests), being on his way homewards and bringing many men of the nations whose countries he had subdued, had come in his return to Daphnae of Pelusium, his brother, to whom he had given Egypt in charge, invited him and his sons to a banquet and then piled wood round the house and set it on fire. When Sesostris was aware of this, he took counsel at once with his wife, whom (it was said) he was bringing with him; and she counselled him to lay two of his six sons on the fire and to make a bridge over the burning whereby they might pass over the bodies of the two and escape. This Sesostris did;

<sup>1</sup> Two such figures have been discovered in the pass of Karabel, near the old road from Ephesus to Smyrna. They are not, however, Egyptian in appearance.

μὲν τῶν παίδων κατακαῆναι τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀποσωθῆναι ἅμα τῷ πατρί.

108. Νοστήσας δὲ ὁ Σέσωστρις ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τισάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεόν, τῷ μὲν ὁμίλῳ τὸν ἐπηγάγετο τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, τούτῳ μὲν τάδε ἐχρήσατο· τοὺς τέ οἱ λίθους τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως κομισθέντας ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρόν, ὄντας μεγάλῃ περιμήκειας, οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐλκύσαντες, καὶ τὰς διώρυχας τὰς νῦν εἰούσας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάσας οὗτοι ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὤρυσσον, ἐποίευν τε οὐκ ἐκόντες Αἴγυπτον, τὸ πρὶν εἶναι ἰππασίμην καὶ ἀμαξενομένην πᾶσαν, ἐνδεᾶ τούτων. ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου Αἴγυπτος εἶσα πεδιάς πᾶσα ἄνιππος καὶ ἀναμάξευτος γέγονε· αἰτίαι δὲ τούτων αἱ διώρυχες γεγόνασι εἶναι πολλαὶ καὶ παντοίους τρόπους ἔχουσαι. κατέταμνε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τὴν χώραν ὁ βασιλεὺς· ὅσοι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ἔκτηντο τὰς πόλεις ἀλλ' ἀναμέσους, οὗτοι, ὅπως τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, σπανίζοντες ὑδάτων πλατυτέροις ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι πόμασι, ἐκ φρεάτων χρεώμενοι.

109. Τούτων μὲν δὴ εἵνεκα κατετμήθη ἡ Αἴγυπτος. κατανεῖμαι δὲ τὴν χώραν Αἰγυπτίοις ἅπασιν αὐτὸν ἔλεγον τὸν βασιλέα, κλῆρον ἴσον ἐκάστῳ τετράγωνον διδόντα, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν ἐπιτελέειν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. εἰ δὲ τινὸς τοῦ κλήρου ὁ ποταμὸς τι παρέλοιτο, ἐλθὼν ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐσήμαινε τὸ γεγενημένον· ὁ δὲ ἔπεμπε τοὺς ἐπισκεψομένους καὶ ἀναμετρήσοντας ὅσῳ ἐλάσσων ὁ χώρος γέγονε, ὅπως τοῦ λοιποῦ κατὰ λόγον



two of his sons were thus burnt, but the rest were saved alive with their father.

108. Having returned to Egypt, and taken vengeance on his brother, Sesostris found work, as I shall show, for the multitude which he brought with him from the countries which he had subdued. It was these who dragged the great and long blocks of stone which were brought in this king's reign to the temple of Hephaestus; and it was they who were compelled to dig all the canals which are now in Egypt, and thus, albeit with no such intent, made what was before a land of horses and carts to be now without either. For from this time Egypt, albeit a level land, could use no horses or carts, by reason of the canals being so many and going every way. The reason why the king thus intersected the country was this: those Egyptians whose towns were not on the Nile but inland from it lacked water whenever the flood left their land, and drank only brackish water from wells.

109. For this cause Egypt was intersected. This king moreover (so they said) divided the country among all the Egyptians by giving each an equal square parcel of land, and made this his source of revenue, appointing the payment of a yearly tax. And any man who was robbed by the river of a part of his land would come to Sesostris and declare what had befallen him; then the king would send men to look into it and measure the space by which the land was diminished, so that thereafter it should

τῆς τεταγμένης ἀποφορῆς τελέοι. δοκέει δέ μοι ἐνθεῦτεν γεωμετρίῃ εὐρεθεῖσα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπανελθεῖν· πόλον μὲν γὰρ καὶ γνώμονα καὶ τὰ δυνάδεκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον οἱ Ἕλληνες.

110. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ οὗτος μῦθος Αἰγύπτιος Αἰθιοπίνης ἤρξε, μνημόσυνα δὲ ἐλίπετο πρὸ τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἀνδριάντας λιθίνους, δύο μὲν τριήκοντα πηχέων, ἑωυτὸν τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας εὐντάς τέσσερας εἴκοσι πηχέων ἕκαστον· τῶν δὴ ὁ ἱρεὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα πολλῷ Δαρεῖον τὸν Πέρσῃν οὐ περιεῖδε ἰστάντα ἔμπροσθε ἀνδριάντα, φάς οὐ οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ἔργα οἷά περ Σεσώστρι τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ· Σέσωστριν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τε καταστρέψασθαι ἔθνεα οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἐκείνου καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύθας, Δαρεῖον δὲ οὐ δυνασθῆναι Σκύθας ἐλεῖν· οὐκων δίκαιον εἶναι ἰστάναι ἔμπροσθε τῶν ἐκείνου ἀναθημάτων μὴ οὐκ ὑπερβαλλόμενον τοῖσι ἔργοισι. Δαρεῖον μὲν νυν λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνώμην ποιήσασθαι.

111. Σεσώστριος δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐκδέξασθαι ἔλεγον τὴν βασιληίην τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Φερῶν, τὸν ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν οὐδεμίαν στρατηίην, συνενειχθῆναι δὲ οἱ τυφλὸν γενέσθαι διὰ τοιόνδε πρῆγμα· τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελθόντος μέγιστα δὴ τότε ἐπ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα πήχεας, ὥς ὑπερέβαλε τὰς ἀρούρας, πνεύματος ἐμπεσόντος κυματίης ὁ ποταμὸς ἐγένετο· τὸν δὲ βασιλέα λέγουσι τοῦτον ἀτασθαλίῃ χρησάμενον, λαβόντα αἰχμὴν βαλεῖν ἐς μέσας τὰς δίνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτίκα καμόντα αὐτὸν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλωθῆναι. δέκα μὲν δὴ

pay in proportion to the tax originally imposed. From this, to my thinking, the Greeks learnt the art of measuring land; the sun-clock and the sundial, and the twelve divisions of the day, came to Hellas not from Egypt but from Babylonia.

110. Sesostris was the only Egyptian king who also ruled Ethiopia. To commemorate his name, he set before the temple of Hephaestus two stone statues of himself and his wife, each thirty cubits high, and statues of his four sons, each of twenty cubits. Long afterwards Darius the Persian would have set up his statue before these; but the priest of Hephaestus forbade him, saying that he had achieved nothing equal to the deeds of Sesostris the Egyptian; for Sesostris (he said) had subdued the Scythians, besides as many other nations as Darius had conquered, and Darius had not been able to overcome the Scythians; therefore it was not just that Darius should set his statue before the statues of Sesostris, whose achievements he had not equalled. Darius, it is said, let the priest have his way.

111. When Sesostris died, he was succeeded in the kingship (so said the priests) by his son Pheros.<sup>1</sup> This king made no wars; and it happened that he became blind, for the following reason: the Nile came down in a flood such as never was before, rising to a height of eighteen cubits, and the water which overflowed the fields was roughened by a strong wind; then, it is said, the king was so infatuated that he took a spear and hurled it into the midst of the river eddies. Straightway after this he suffered from a disease of the eyes, and became blind. When he had been blind for ten years, an

<sup>1</sup> Manetho's list shows no such name. It is probably not a name but a title, Pharaoh.

ἔτεα εἶναί μιν τυφλόν, ἐνδεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀπικέσθαι οἱ μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτούς πόλιος ὡς ἐξήκει τέ οἱ ὁ χρόνος τῆς ζημίας καὶ ἀναβλέψει γυναικὸς οὐρῷ νιψάμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἧτις παρὰ τὸν ἐωυτῆς ἄνδρα μῦνον πεφοίτηκε, ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἐοῦσα ἄπειρος. καὶ τὸν πρώτης τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὸς πειρᾶσθαι, μετὰ δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἀνέβλεπε, ἐπεξῆς πασέων πειρᾶσθαι· ἀναβλέψαντα δὲ συναγαγεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπειρήθη, πλὴν ἡ τῆς τῷ οὐρῷ νιψάμενος ἀνέβλεψε, ἐς μίαν πόλιν, ἣ νῦν καλεῖται Ἐρυθρὴ βῶλος· ἐς ταύτην συναλίσαντα ὑποπρῆσαι πάσας σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει· τῆς δὲ νιψάμενος τῷ οὐρῷ ἀνέβλεψε, ταύτην δὲ ἔσχε αὐτὸς γυναῖκα. ἀναθήματα δὲ ἀποφυγῶν τὴν πάθην τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἄλλα τε ἀνὰ τὰ ἱρὰ πάντα τὰ λόγιμα ἀνέθηκε καὶ τοῦ γε λόγον μάλιστα ἄξιον ἐστὶ ἔχειν, ἐς τοῦ Ἥλιου τὸ ἱρὸν ἀξιοθέητα ἀνέθηκε ἔργα, ὀβελοὺς δύο λιθίνους, ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐόντα ἐκάτερον λίθου, μῆκος μὲν ἐκάτερον πηχέων ἑκατόν, εὐρὸς δὲ ὀκτὼ πηχέων.

112. Τούτου δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλῆην ἔλεγον ἄνδρα Μεμφίτην, τῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν οὐνομα Πρωτέα εἶναι· τοῦ νῦν τέμενος ἐστὶ ἐν Μέμφι κάρτα καλὸν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένον, τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου πρὸς νότον ἀνεμὸν κείμενον. περιδικέουσι δὲ τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο Φοίνικες Τύριοι, καλεῖται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὁ συνάπας Τυρίων στρατόπεδον. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Πρωτέος ἱρὸν τὸ καλεῖται ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης· συμβάλλομαι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν εἶναι Ἑλένης τῆς Τυνδάρεω, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀκηκοὺς ὡς διαιτήθη Ἑλένη παρὰ Πρωτεί, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι ξείνης Ἀφρο-



oracle from the city of Buto declared to him that the time of his punishment was drawing to an end, and that he should regain his sight by washing his eyes with the issue of a woman who had never had intercourse with any man but her own husband. Pheros made trial with his own wife first, and as he still remained blind, with all women, one after another. When he at last recovered sight, he took all the women of whom he had made trial, save only her who had made him to see again, and gathered them into one town, that which is now called "Red Clay"; where having collected them together he burnt them and the town; but the woman by whose means he had recovered sight he took to wife. Among the many offerings which he dedicated in all the noteworthy temples for his deliverance from blindness, most worthy of mention are the two marvellous stone obelisks which he set up in the temple of the Sun. Each of these is made of a single block, and is an hundred cubits high and eight cubits thick.

112. Pheros was succeeded (they said) by a man of Memphis, whose name in the Greek language was Proteus. This Proteus has a fair and well-adorned temple precinct at Memphis, lying to the south of the temple of Hephaestus. Round the precinct dwell Phoenicians of Tyre, and the whole place is called the Camp of the Tyrians. There is in the precinct of Proteus a temple entitled the temple of the Stranger Aphrodite; this I guess to be a temple of Helen, daughter of Tyndareus, partly because I have heard the story of Helen's abiding with Proteus, and partly because it bears the name of

δίτης ἐπώνυμον ἐστί· ὅσα γὰρ ἄλλα Ἀφροδίτης ἱρά ἐστι, οὐδαμῶς ξείνης ἐπικαλέεται.

113. Ἐλεγον δέ μοι οἱ ἱρέες ἱστορέοντι τὰ περὶ Ἑλένην γενέσθαι ὧδε. Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρπάσαντα Ἑλένην ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ καὶ μιν, ὡς ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ, ἐξῶσται ἀνεμοὶ ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος, ἐνθεῦτεν δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἀνιεῖ τὰ πνεύματα, ἀπικνέεται ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἐς τὸ νῦν Κανωβικὸν καλεούμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου καὶ ἐς Ταριχείας. ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμόνος τὸ καὶ νῦν ἐστι Ἡρακλέος ἱρόν, ἐς τὸ ἦν καταφυγὼν οἰκέτης ὅτεν ὦν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβάληται στίγματα ἱρά, ἑωυτὸν διδούς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτου ἄψασθαι. ὁ νόμος οὗτος διατελέει ἕων ὁμοῖος μέχρι ἐμεῦ τῷ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. τοῦ ὦν δὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπιστέαται θεράποντες πυθόμενοι τὸν περὶ τὸ ἱρόν ἔχοντα νόμον, ἰκέται δὲ ἰζόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ κατηγόρεον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, βουλόμενοι βλάπτειν αὐτόν, πάντα λόγον ἐξηγεύμενοι ὡς εἶχε περὶ τὴν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὴν ἐς Μενέλεων ἀδικίην· κατηγόρεον δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τε τοὺς ἱρέας καὶ τὸν τοῦ στόματος τούτου φύλακον, τῷ οὐνόμα ἦν Θῶνις.

114. Ἀκούσας δὲ τούτων ὁ Θῶνις πέμπει τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Μέμφιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἀγγελίην λέγουσαν τάδε. “Ἦκει ξεῖνος γένος μὲν Τευκρός, ἔργον δὲ ἀνόσιον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐξεργασμένος· ξείνου γὰρ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἐξαπατήσας τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτήν τε ταύτην ἄγων ἦκει καὶ πολλὰ κάρτα χρήματα, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἐς γῆν ταύτην ἀπενειχθεῖς. κότερα δῆτα τούτον ἐῶμεν ἀσινέα ἐκπλέειν ἢ

the Stranger Aphrodite ; for no other of Aphrodite's temples is called by that name.

113. When I enquired of the priests, they told me that this was the story of Helen:—After carrying off Helen from Sparta, Alexandrus sailed away for his own country ; violent winds caught him in the Aegean, and drove him into the Egyptian sea ; whence (the wind not abating) he came to Egypt, to the mouth of the Nile called the Canopic mouth, and to the Salting-places. Now there was on the coast (and still is) a temple of Heracles ; where if a servant of any man take refuge and be branded with certain sacred marks in token that he delivers himself to the god, such an one may not be touched. This law continues to-day the same as it has ever been from the first. Hearing of the temple law, certain of Alexandrus' servants separated themselves from him, threw themselves on the mercy of the god, and brought an accusation against Alexandrus with intent to harm him, telling all the story of Helen and the wrong done to Menelaus. They laid this accusation before the priests and the warden of the Nile mouth, whose name was Thonis.

114. When Thonis heard it, he sent this message with all speed to Proteus at Memphis : " There has come hither a Teucrian stranger who has done great wrong in Hellas. He has deceived his host and robbed him of his wife, and brought her hither driven to your country by the wind, with very great store of wealth besides. Shall we suffer him to sail away unharmed, or take away from him that which

ἀπελώμεθα τὰ ἔχων ἦλθε;" ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Πρωτεὺς λέγοντα τάδε. "Ἄνδρα τοῦτον, ὅστις κοτὲ ἐστὶ ἀνόσια ἐργασμένος ξεῖνον τὸν ἑωυτοῦ, συλλαβόντες ἀπάγετε παρ' ἐμέ, ἵνα εἰδέω ὃ τί κοτὲ καὶ λέξει."

115. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θῶνις συλλαμβάνει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ κατίσχει, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν τε τοῦτον ἀνήγαγε ἐς Μέμφιν καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰκέτας. ἀνακομισθέντων δὲ πάντων, εἰρώτα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ Πρωτεὺς τίς εἴη καὶ ὁκόθεν πλέοι. ὁ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὸ γένος κατέλεξε καὶ τῆς πάτρης εἶπε τὸ οὖνομα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν πλόον ἀπηγήσατο ὁκόθεν πλέοι. μετὰ δὲ ὁ Πρωτεὺς εἰρώτα αὐτὸν ὁκόθεν τὴν Ἑλένην λάβοι· πλανωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ οὐ λέγοντος τὴν ἀληθείην, ἤλεγχον οἱ γενόμενοι ἰκέται, ἐξηγεύμενοι πάντα λόγον τοῦ ἀδικήματος. τέλος δὲ δὴ σφί λόγον τόνδε ἐκφαίνει ὁ Πρωτεὺς, λέγων ὅτι "Ἐγὼ εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγεύμην μηδένα ξείνων κτείνειν, ὅσοι ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἤδη ἀπολαμφθέντες ἦλθον ἐς χώραν τὴν ἐμήν, ἐγὼ ἂν σε ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἑλλήνος ἐτισάμην, ὅς, ὦ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ξεινίων τυχῶν ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον ἐργάσαιο· παρὰ τοῦ σεωυτοῦ ξείνου τὴν γυναῖκα ἦλθες. καὶ μάλα ταῦτά τοι οὐκ ἤρκεσε, ἀλλ' ἀναπτερώσας αὐτὴν οἷχαι ἔχων ἐκκλέψας. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτά τοι μούνα ἤρκεσε, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰκία τοῦ ξείνου κεραῖσας ἤκεις. νῦν ὦν ἐπειδὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγῆμαι μὴ ξεινοκτονέειν, γυναῖκα μὲν ταύτην καὶ τὰ χρήματα οὗ τοι προήσω ἀπάγεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτά ἐγὼ τῷ Ἑλληνι ξείνῳ φυλάξω, ἐς ὃ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἐκεῖνος ἀπαγαγέσθαι



he has brought?" Proteus sent back this message :  
 "Whoever be this man who has done a wrong to his own host, seize him and bring him to me, that I may know what he will say."

115. Hearing this, Thonis seized Alexandrus and held his ships there, and presently brought him with Helen and all the wealth, and the suppliants therewith, to Memphis. All having come thither, Proteus asked Alexandrus who he was and whence he sailed; Alexandrus told him of his lineage and the name of his country, and of his voyage, whence he sailed. Then Proteus asked him whence he had taken Helen; Alexandrus made no straightforward or truthful answer; but the men who had taken refuge with the temple disproved his tale, and related the whole story of the wrongful act. When all was said, Proteus thus gave sentence:—"Were I not careful to slay no stranger who has ever been caught by the wind and driven to my coasts, I would have avenged that Greek upon you; seeing that, O basest of men! you have done foul wrong to him who hospitably entreated you, and have entered in to the wife of your own host. Nay, and this did not suffice you; you made her to fly with you and stole her away. Nor was even this enough, but you have come hither with the plunder of your host's house. Now, therefore, since I am careful to slay no stranger, I will not suffer you to take away this woman and these possessions; I will keep them for the Greek stranger, till such time as he shall himself come to

ἰθέλη· αὐτὸν δέ σε καὶ τοὺς σοὺς συμπλόους  
τριῶν ἡμερέων προαγορεύω ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς γῆς ἐς  
ἄλλην τινὰ μετορμίζεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ἅτε πολεμίους  
περιέψεσθαι."

116. Ἑλένης μὲν ταύτην ἄπιξιν παρὰ Πρωτέα  
ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες γενέσθαι· δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ "Ὀμηρος  
τὸν λόγον τοῦτον πυθέσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως  
ἐς τὴν ἐποποιίην εὐπρεπῆς ἦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῷ περ  
ἐχρήσατο, ἐκὼν μετῆκε αὐτόν, δηλώσας ὥς καὶ  
τοῦτον ἐπίσταιτο τὸν λόγον· δηλὸν δὲ κατὰ [γάρ]<sup>1</sup>  
ἐποίησε ἐν Ἰλιάδι (καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλη ἀνεπόδισε  
ἑωυτόν) πλάνην τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὥς ἀπηνείχθη  
ἄγων Ἑλένην τῇ τε δὴ ἄλλη πλαζόμενος καὶ ὥς  
ἐς Σιδῶνα τῆς Φοινίκης ἀπίκητο. ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ  
αὐτοῦ ἐν Διομήδεος ἀριστηίῃ· λέγει δὲ τὰ ἔπεα  
ᾧδε.

"Εὐθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλοι, ἔργα γυναικῶν  
Σιδονίων, τὰς αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής  
ἦγαγε Σιδονίηθεν, ἐπιπλῶς εὐρέα πόντον,  
τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν εὐπατέριαν.

ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσείῃ ἐν τοῖσιδε τοῖσι  
ἔπεσι.

Τοῖα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μητιόεντα,  
ἑσθλά, τὰ οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν Θῶνος παρὰ-  
κοιτις

Αἴγυπτιν, τῇ πλείστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα  
φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἑσθλά μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ  
δὲ λυγρά.

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ = καθά, "according as." γάρ is out of place here.

take them away; but as for you and the companions of your voyage, I warn you to depart from my country elsewhither within three days, else I will deal with you as with enemies."

116. This, by what the priests told me, was the manner of Helen's coming to Proteus. And, to my thinking, Homer too knew this story; but seeing that it suited not so well with epic poetry as the tale of which he made use, he rejected it of set purpose, showing withal that he knew it. This is plain, from the passage in the *Iliad* (and nowhere else does he return to the story) where he relates the wanderings of Alexandrus, and shows how he with Helen was carried out of his course, among other places, to Sidon in Phoenice. This is in the story of the Feats of Diomedes, where the verses run as follows:

There were the robes in his house, inwrought with  
manifold colours,  
Work of the women of Sidon, whom godlike Paris  
aforetime  
Brought from their eastern town, o'er wide seas  
voyaging thither,  
E'en when he won from her home fair Helen, the  
daughter of princes.<sup>1</sup>

He makes mention of it in the *Odyssey* also:  
Suchlike drugs of grace, for a healing cunningly  
mingled,  
Once in the land of Nile had the wife of Thon,  
Polydamna,  
Giv'n to the daughter of Zeus; for there of the  
country's abundance,  
Potent to heal or to harm, are herbs full many  
engendered:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* vi. 289-92.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* iv. 227-30.

καὶ τάδε ἔτερα πρὸς Τηλέμαχον Μενέλεως λέγει.

Αἰγύπτῳ μ' ἔτι δεῦρο θεοὶ μεμαῶτα νέεσθαι  
ἔσχον, ἐπεὶ οὐ σφιν ἔρεξα τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας.<sup>1</sup>

ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἔπεσι δηλοῖ ὅτι ἠπίστατο τὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον Ἀλεξάνδρου πλάνην· ὁμοῦρῃ γὰρ ἡ Συρίη Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες, τῶν ἐστὶ ἡ Σιδῶν, ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ οἰκεῖουσιν.

117. Κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔπεα καὶ τότε τὸ χωρίον οὐκ ἤκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δηλοῖ ὅτι οὐκ Ὀμήρου τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα ἐστὶ ἀλλ' ἄλλου τινός. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖσι Κυπρίοις εἴρηται ὡς τριταῖος ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἄγων Ἑλένην, εὐαεὶ τε πνεύματι χρησάμενος καὶ θαλάσση λείῃ· ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδι λέγει ὡς ἐπλάζετο ἄγων αὐτήν.

118. Ὀμηρος μὲν νυν καὶ τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα χαιρέτω. εἰρομένον δέ μιν τοὺς ἱρέας εἰ μάταιον λόγον λέγουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον γενέσθαι ἢ οὐ, ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα τάδε, ἱστορίῃσι φάμενοι εἰδέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ Μενέλεω. ἐλθεῖν μὲν γὰρ μετὰ τὴν Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὴν ἐς τὴν Τευκρίδα γῆν Ἑλλήνων στρατιὴν πολλὴν βοηθεῦσαν Μενέλεω, ἐκβᾶσαν δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ἰδρυθεῖσαν τὴν στρατιὴν πέμπειν ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἀγγέλους, σὺν δὲ σφί ἰέναι καὶ αὐτὸν Μενέλεω· τοὺς δ' ἐπεῖτε ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπαιτέειν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ οἱ οἶχeto κλέψας Ἀλέξανδρος, τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων δίκας αἰτέειν· τοὺς δὲ Τευ-

<sup>1</sup> Stein brackets ἐπιμαρτυρεῖται . . . ἑκατόμβας, because (as he says) the quotations from the Odyssey have nothing to do with the story of Alexandrus.



and again Menelaus says to Telemachus :

Enger was I to return, but the gods fast held me in  
Egypt,  
Wroth that I honoured them not nor offered a sacrifice duly.<sup>1</sup>

In these verses the poet shows that he knew of Alexandrus' wanderings to Egypt ; for Syria borders on Egypt, and the Phoenicians, to whom Sidon belongs, dwell in Syria.

117. These verses and this passage prove most clearly that the Cyprian poems are by the hand not of Homer but of another. For the Cyprian poems relate that Alexandrus reached Ilion with Helen in three days from Sparta, having a fair wind and a smooth sea ; but according to the *Iliad* he wandered from his course in bringing her.

118. Enough, then, of Homer and the Cyprian poems. But when I asked the priests whether the Greek account of the Trojan business were vain or true, they gave me the following answer, saying that they had inquired and knew what Menelaus himself had said :—After the rape of Helen, a great host of Greeks came to the Teucrian land on Menelaus' behalf. Having there disembarked and encamped, they sent to Ilion messengers, of whom Menelaus himself was one. These, on coming within the city walls, demanded restitution of Helen and the possessions which Alexandrus had stolen from Menelaus and carried off, and reparation besides for the wrong done ; but the Teucrians then and ever afterwards

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* iv. 351, 2

κρούς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον λέγειν τότε καὶ μετέπειτα, καὶ ὁμνύντας καὶ ἀνωμοτί, μὴ μὲν ἔχειν Ἑλένην μηδὲ τὰ ἐπικαλούμενα χρήματα, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτὰ πάντα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὶ δίκας ὑπέχειν τῶν Πρωτεὺς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος βασιλεὺς ἔχει. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες καταγελαῖσθαι δοκέοντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὕτω δὴ ἐπολιόρκεον, ἐς ὃ ἐξεῖλον ἐλοῦσι δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ὥς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ἡ Ἑλένη, ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπυνθάνοντο, οὕτω δὴ πιστεύσαντες τῷ λόγῳ τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτὸν Μενέλεω ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ Πρωτέα.

119. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Μενέλεως ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀναπλώσας ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, εἰπας τὴν ἀληθείην τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ ξεινίων ἤντησε μεγάλων καὶ Ἑλένην ἀπαθεία κακῶν ἀπέλαβε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ χρήματα πάντα. τυχὼν μέντοι τούτων ἐγένετο Μενέλεως ἀνὴρ ἄδικος ἐς Αἰγυπτίους. ἀποπλέειν γὰρ ὀρμημένον αὐτὸν ἰσχον ἀπλοῖαι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλὸν τοιοῦτον ἦν, ἐπιτεχνᾶται πρῆγμα οὐκ ὅσιον· λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔντομα σφέα ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ ὥς ἐπαίσιτος ἐγένετο τοῦτο ἐργασμένος, μισηθεὶς τε καὶ διωκόμενος οἷχετο φεύγων πῆσι νηυσὶ ἐπὶ Λιβύης· τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὅκου ἔτι ἐτράπετο οὐκ εἶχον εἰπεῖν Αἰγύπτιοι. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱστορήσι ἔφασαν ἐπίστασθαι, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἐωυτοῖσι γενόμενα ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγειν.

120. Ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον· ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ Ἑλένης λεχθέντι καὶ αὐτὸς προστίθεμαι, τάδε ἐπιλεγόμενος, εἰ ἦν Ἑλένη ἐν

declared, with oaths and without, that neither Helen nor the goods claimed were with them, she and they being in Egypt; nor could they (so they said) justly make reparation for what was in the hands of the Egyptian king Proteus. But the Greeks thought that the Trojans mocked them, and therewith besieged the city, till they took it; and it was not till they took the fortress and found no Helen there, and heard the same declaration as before, that they gave credence to the Trojans' first word and so sent Menelaus himself to Proteus.

119. Menelaus then came to Egypt and went up the river to Memphis; there, telling the whole truth of what had happened, he was very hospitably entertained and received back Helen unharmed and all his possessions withal. Yet, albeit so well entreated, Menelaus did the Egyptians a wrong. For when he would have sailed away he was stayed by stress of weather; and this hindrance continuing for long, he devised and did a forbidden deed, taking two children of the land and sacrificing them. When it was known that he had so done, the people hated and pursued him, and he fled away with his ships to Libya; and whither he thence betook himself the Egyptians could not say. The priests told me that they had learnt some of this tale by inquiry, but that they spoke with exact knowledge of what had happened in their own country.

120. So much was told me by the Egyptian priests. For myself, I believe their story about Helen: for I reason thus—that had Helen been in Ilion, then

Ἰλίῳ, ἀποδοθῆναι ἂν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ἥτοι ἐκόντος γε ἢ ἀέκοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου. οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὕτω γε φρενοβλαβὴς ἦν ὁ Πριάμος οὐδὲ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ, ὥστε τοῖσι σφετέροισι σώμασι καὶ τοῖσι τέκνοισι καὶ τῇ πόλει κινδυνεύειν ἐβούλοντο, ὅπως Ἀλέξανδρος Ἑλένη συνοικέη. εἰ δέ τοι καὶ ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοις χρόνοις ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων, ὁκότε συμμίσγοιεν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, ἀπώλλυντο, αὐτοῦ δὲ Πριάμου οὐκ ἔστι ὅτε οὐ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ καὶ ἔτι πλέους τῶν παίδων μάχης γινομένης ἀπέθνησκον, εἰ χρή τι τοῖσι ἐποποιοῖσι χρεώμενον λέγειν, τούτων δὲ τοιούτων συμβαινόντων ἐγὼ μὲν ἔλπομαι, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς Πριάμος συνοίκεε Ἑλένη, ἀποδοῦναι ἂν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Ἀχαιοῖσι, μέλλοντά γε δὴ τῶν παρϐόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ βασιληίῃ ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον περιήιε, ὥστε γέροντος Πριάμου ἔοντος ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ πρήγματα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ Ἐκτωρ καὶ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀνὴρ ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἔων ἔμελλε αὐτὴν Πριάμου ἀποθανόντος παραλάμψεσθαι, τὸν οὐ προσῆκε ἀδικέοντι τῷ ἀδελφεῷ ἐπιτράπειν, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλων κακῶν δι' αὐτὸν συμβαινόντων ἰδίῃ τε αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις πᾶσι Τρωσί. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ εἶχον Ἑλένην ἀποδοῦναι, οὐδὲ λέγουσι αὐτοῖσι τὴν ἀληθείην ἐπίστευον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ γνώμην ἀποφαίνομαι, τοῦ δαιμονίου παρασκευάζοντος, ὅπως πανωλεθρίῃ ἀπολόμενοι καταφανὲς τοῦτο τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι ποιήσωσι, ὥς τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαί εἰσι καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τῇ ἐμοὶ δοκέει εἶρηται.

121. Πρωτέος δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληίην



with or without the will of Alexandrus she would have been given back to the Greeks. For surely neither was Priam so mad, nor those nearest to him, as to consent to risk their own persons and their children and their city, that Alexandrus might have Helen to wife. Even be it granted that they were so minded in the first days, yet when not only many of the Trojans were slain in fighting against the Greeks, but Priam himself lost by death two or three or even more of his sons in every battle (if the poets are to be trusted), in this turn of affairs, had Helen been Priam's own wife, I cannot but think (for myself) that he would have restored her to the Greeks, if by so doing he could escape from the present evil plight. Nay, nor was Alexandrus next heir to the kingship, whereby he might have been the real ruler, Priam being old; it was Hector, an older and a more valiant man than Alexandrus, who was like to receive the royal power at Priam's death; and it was none of Hector's business to consent to his brother's wrongdoing, least of all when that brother was the cause of great calamity to Hector himself and the whole of Troy beside. But matters fell out as they did because the Trojans had not Helen there to give back, yet though they spoke the truth the Greeks would not believe them; for, as I am convinced and declare, the powers above ordained that the utter destruction of Troy should prove in the sight of all men that the gods do greatly punish great wrongdoing. This is my own belief and thus I declare it.

121. The next to reign after Proteus (they said)

Ῥαμψίνιτον ἔλεγον, ὃς μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ  
 προπύλαια τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένα τοῦ  
 Ἡφαιστίου, ἀντίους δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων ἔστησε  
 ἀνδριάντας δύο, ἑόντας τὸ μέγαθος πέντε καὶ  
 εἴκοσι πηχέων, τῶν Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μὲν πρὸς βορέῳ  
 ἑστεῶτα καλέουσι θέρος, τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον χει-  
 μῶνα· καὶ τὸν μὲν καλέουσι θέρος, τοῦτον μὲν  
 προσκυνέουσιν τε καὶ εὖ ποιέουσι, τὸν δὲ χει-  
 μῶνα καλεόμενον τὰ ἔμπαλιν τούτων ἔρδουσι.  
 πλοῦτον δὲ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι ἀργύρου  
 μέγαν, τὸν οὐδένα τῶν ὕστερον ἐπιτραφέων  
 βασιλέων δύνασθαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι οὐδ' ἐγγὺς  
 ἔλθειν. βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἀσφαλείῃ τὰ  
 χρήματα θησαυρίζειν οἰκοδομέεσθαι οἶκημα λί-  
 θινον, τοῦ τῶν τοίχων ἓνα ἐς τὸ ἔξω μέρος τῆς  
 οἰκίης ἔχειν. τὸν δὲ ἐργαζόμενον ἐπιβουλεύοντα  
 τάδε μηχανᾶσθαι· τῶν λίθων παρασκευάσασθαι  
 ἓνα ἐξαιρετὸν εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου ῥηιδίως καὶ ὑπὸ  
 δύο ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἐνός. ὥς δὲ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ  
 οἶκημα, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα θησαυρίσαι τὰ χρήματα  
 ἐν αὐτῷ· χρόνου δὲ περιμόντος τὸν οἰκοδόμον περὶ  
 τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου ἑόντα ἀνακαλέσασθαι τοὺς  
 παῖδας (εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ δύο), τούτοις δὲ ἀπηγγέ-  
 σασθαι ὡς ἐκείνων προορῶν, ὅπως βίον ἄφθονον  
 ἔχωσι, τεχνάσαιτο οἰκοδομέων τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ  
 βασιλέως· σαφές δὲ αὐτοῖσι πάντα ἐξηγησά-  
 μενον τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐξαίρεσιν τοῦ λίθου δοῦναι τὰ  
 μέτρα αὐτοῦ, λέγοντα ὡς ταῦτα διαφυλάσσοντες  
 ταμίαι τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων ἔσονται. καὶ τὸν  
 μὲν τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας οὐκ ἐς  
 μακρὴν ἔργου ἔχεσθαι, ἐπελθόντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ  
 βασιλῆα νυκτὸς καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκοδο-

was Rhampsinitus. The memorial of his name left by him was the western forecourt of the temple of Hephaestus; before this he set two statues of twenty-five cubits' height; the northernmost of these is called by the Egyptians Summer, and the southernmost Winter; that one which they call Summer they worship and entreat well, but do contrariwise to the statue called Winter. This king (they told me) had great wealth of silver, so great that none of the later-born kings could surpass or nearly match it. That he might store his treasure safely, he made to be built a stone chamber, one of its walls abutting on the outer side of his palace. But the builder of it craftily contrived that one stone should be so placed as to be easily removed by two men or even by one. So when the chamber was finished, the king stored his treasure in it. But as time went on, the builder, being now near his end, called to him his two sons and told them how he had provided an ample livelihood for them by the art with which he had built the king's treasure-house; he made them clearly to understand concerning the removal of the stone, and gave the measurements which would find it; saying that if they kept these in mind they would be stewards of the king's riches. So when he was dead, his sons set to work with no long delay: coming to the palace by night, they easily found and

μήματι ἀνευρόντας ῥηιδίως μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ τῶν χρημάτων πολλὰ ἐξενείκασθαι. ὥς δὲ τυχεῖν τὸν βασιλέα ἀνοίξαντα τὸ οἶκημα, θωμάσαι ἰδόντα τῶν χρημάτων καταδεῖν τὰ ἀγγήια, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ὄντινα ἐπαιτιᾶται, τῶν τε σημάντρων ἑόντων σόων καὶ τοῦ οἰκήματος κεκλημιμένου. ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ δις καὶ τρίς ἀνοίξαντι αἰεὶ ἐλάσσω φαίνεσθαι τὰ χρήματα (τοὺς γὰρ κλέπτας οὐκ ἀνιέναι κερατίζοντας), ποιῆσαι μιν τάδε· πάγας προστάξαι ἐργάσασθαι καὶ ταύτας περὶ τὰ ἀγγήια ἐν τοῖσι τὰ χρήματα ἐνῆν στηῆσαι. τῶν δὲ φωρῶν ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ἐλθόντων καὶ ἐσδύντος τοῦ ἐτέρου αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄγγος προσῆλθε, ἰθέως τῇ πάγῃ ἐνέχεσθαι. ὥς δὲ γινῶναι αὐτὸν ἐν οἴῳ κακῷ ἦν, ἰθέως καλέειν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν καὶ δηλοῦν αὐτῷ τὰ παρεόντα, καὶ κελεύειν τὴν ταχίστην ἐσδύντα ἀποταμεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὅπως μὴ αὐτὸς ὀφθεῖς καὶ γνωρισθεῖς ὅς εἴη προσαπολέσῃ κακεῖνον. τῷ δὲ δόξαι εὖ λέγειν, καὶ ποιῆσαι μιν πεισθέντα ταῦτα, καὶ καταρμόσαντα τὸν λίθον ἀπιέναι ἐπ' οἴκου, φέροντα τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ. ὥς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο, ἐσελθόντα τὸν βασιλέα εἰς τὸ οἶκημα ἐκπεπλήχθαι ὁρῶντα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φωρὸς ἐν τῇ πάγῃ ἄνευ τῆς κεφαλῆς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ οἶκημα ἀσινὲς καὶ οὔτε ἔσοδον οὔτε ἐκδυσιν οὐδεμίαν ἔχον. ἀπορεύμενον δὲ μιν τάδε ποιῆσαι· τοῦ φωρὸς τὸν νέκυν κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κατακρεμάσαι, φυλάκους δὲ αὐτοῦ καταστήσαντα ἐντείλασθαι σφί, τὸν ἂν ἰδῶνται ἀποκλαύσαντα ἢ κατοικτισάμενον, συλλαβόντας ἄγειν πρὸς ἑωυτόν. Ἀνακρεμαμένον δὲ τοῦ νέκυος τὴν μητέρα δεινῶς φέρειν, λόγους δὲ πρὸς τὸν περιέοντα παῖδα



handled the stone in the building, and took away much of the treasure. When the king opened the building, he was amazed to see the vessels lacking their full tale of treasure; yet he knew not whom to accuse, seeing that the seals were unbroken and the chamber fast shut. But when at the second and third opening of the chamber he saw the treasure grown ever less (for the thieves ceased not from plundering), he bid traps to be made and set about the vessels in which his riches lay. The thieves came as they had done before, and one of them crept in; when he came near the vessel, at once he was caught and held in the trap. Seeing his evil plight, he straightway called to his brother, and, showing him how matters stood, "Creep in quickly," said he, "and cut off my head, lest I be seen and recognised and so bring you too to ruin." The brother consented and did this, thinking the counsel good. Then he set the stone in place again, and went away home, carrying his brother's head. When it was morning the king came to the chamber, and was amazed to see the thief's headless body in the trap, yet the chamber unbroken, with no way of passing in or out; and he knew not what to do. But presently he hung the thief's dead body on the outer wall, and set guards over it, charging them to seize and bring before him whomsoever they should see weeping or making lamentation.

But the thief's mother, when the body had been so hung, was greatly moved: she talked with

ποιευμένην προστάσσειν αὐτῷ ὅτεφ τρόφῳ δύναται μηχανᾶσθαι ὅπως τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλύσας κομιεῖ· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμελήσει, διαπειλέειν αὐτὴν ὥς ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μηνύσει αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τὰ χρήματα. ὥς δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐλαμβάνετο ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ περιεόντος παιδὸς καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε, ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι τοιαύδε μιν ὄνους κατασκευασάμενον καὶ ἄσκους πλήσαντα οἶνου ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν ὄνων καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλαύνειν αὐτούς· ὥς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ἦν τὸν κρεμάμενον νέκυν, ἐπισπᾶσαντα τῶν ἄσκῶν δύο ἢ τρεῖς ποδεῶνας αὐτὸν λύειν ἀπαμμένους· ὥς δὲ ἔρρεε ὁ οἶνος, τὴν κεφαλὴν μιν κόπτεσθαι μεγάλα βοῶντα ὥς οὐκ ἔχοντα πρὸς ὁκοῖον τῶν ὄνων πρῶτον τράπηται. τοὺς δὲ φυλάκους ὥς ἰδεῖν πολλὸν ρέοντα τὸν οἶνον, συντρέχειν ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγγήια ἔχοντας, καὶ τὸν ἐκκεχυμένον οἶνον συγκομίζειν ἐν κέρδει ποιευμένους· τὸν δὲ διαλοιδορέεσθαι πᾶσι ὀργὴν προσποιεῦμενον, παραμυθευμένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν φυλάκων χρόνῳ πρηῖνεσθαι προσποιέεσθαι καὶ ὑπῖεσθαι τῆς ὀργῆς, τέλος δὲ ἐξελάσαι αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄνους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ κατασκευάζειν. ὥς δὲ λόγους τε πλέους ἐγγίνεσθαι καὶ τινα καὶ σκῶψαι μιν καὶ ἐς γέλωτα προαγαγέσθαι, ἐπιδούναι αὐτοῖσι τῶν ἄσκῶν ἓνα· τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ εἶχον κατακλιθέντας πίνειν διανοέεσθαι, καὶ ἐκείνον παραλαμβάνειν καὶ κελεύειν μετ' ἐωυτῶν μέιναντα συμπίνειν· τὸν δὲ πεισθῆναί τε δὴ καὶ καταμεῖναι. ὥς δὲ μιν παρὰ τὴν πόσιν φιλοφρόνως ἡσπάζοντο, ἐπιδούναι αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἄλλον τῶν ἄσκῶν· δαψιλὴ δὲ τῷ ποτῷ χρησαμένους τοὺς φυλάκους ὑπερμε-

her surviving son, and bade him contrive by whatever means to loose and bring her his brother's body, threatening that if he would not obey her she would go to the king and lay an information that he had the treasure. So when she bitterly reproached him and for all he said he could not overpersuade her, the brother devised a plot: he got his asses and loaded them with skins full of wine and then drove them before him till he came near those who guarded the hanging body; then he pulled at the feet of two or three of the skins and loosed their fastenings; and the wine so running out, he cried aloud and beat his head like one that knew not which of his asses he should deal with first. The guards, seeing the wine running freely, all took vessels and ran into the highway, where they caught the spilt wine, and thought themselves lucky; the man pretended to be angry and reviled each and all of them; but the guards speaking peaceably to him, he presently made as if he were comforted and appeased, till at last he drove his asses aside from the highway and put his gear in order. So the guards and he fell into talk, and one of them jesting with him, so that there was laughter, he gave them one of the skins: whereupon without more ado they sat down and began to drink, making him one of their company and bidding him stay and drink with them; and he consented and stayed. They drank to him merrily, and he gave them yet another of the skins, till the guards grew very drunk with the abundance of

θυσθῆναι καὶ κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου αὐτοῦ ἐνθα περ ἔπινον κατακοιμηθῆναι. τὸν δέ, ὡς πρόσω ἦν τῆς νυκτός, τό τε σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλῦσαι καὶ τῶν φυλάκων ἐπὶ λύμῃ πάντων ξυρῆσαι τὰς δεξιὰς παρηίδας, ἐπιθέντα δὲ τὸν νέκυν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνειν ἐπ' οἶκου, ἐπιτελέσαντα τῇ μητρὶ τὰ προσταχθέντα.

Τὸν δὲ βασιλέα, ὡς αὐτῷ ἀπηγγέλλθη τοῦ φωρὸς ὁ νέκυσ ἐκκεκλεμμένος, δεινὰ ποιεῖν· πάντως δὲ βουλόμενον εὔρεθῆναι ὅστις κοτὲ εἴη ὁ ταῦτα μηχανώμενος, ποιῆσαί μιν τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά· τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ κατίσαι ἐπ' οἰκήματος, ἐντειλάμενον πάντας τε ὁμοίως προσδέκεσθαι, καὶ πρὶν συγγενέσθαι, ἀναγκάζειν λέγειν αὐτῇ ὅ τι δὴ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἔργασται αὐτῷ σοφώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον· ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπηγήσεται τὰ περὶ τὸν φῶρα γεγεννημένα, τοῦτον συλλαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ ἀπιέναι ἔξω. ὡς δὲ τὴν παῖδα ποιεῖν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς προσταχθέντα, τὸν φῶρα πυθόμενον τῶν εἵνεκα ταῦτα ἐπρήσσετο, βουλευθέντα πολυτροπίῃ τοῦ βασιλέος περιγενέσθαι ποιεῖν τάδε· νεκροῦ προσφάτου ἀποταμόντα ἐν τῷ ὄμῳ τὴν χεῖρα ἵεναι αὐτὸν ἔχοντα αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ. ἐσελθόντα δὲ ὡς τοῦ βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ εἰρωτώμενον τὰ περ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀπηγήσασθαι ὡς ἀνοσιώτατον μὲν εἴη ἐργασμένος ὅτι τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ τοῦ βασιλέος ὑπὸ πάγης ἀλόντος ἀποτάμοι τὴν κεφαλὴν, σοφώτατον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς φυλάκους καταμεθύσας καταλύσειε τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ κρεμάμενον τὸν νέκυν. τὴν δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε ἄπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ, τὸν δὲ φῶρα ἐν τῷ σκότει προτεῖναι αὐτῇ τοῦ νεκροῦ



liquor, and at last being overmastered by sleep lay down in the place where they had been drinking. When the night was far spent, the thief cut down his brother's body and then (first shaving all the guard's right cheeks by way of insult) laid it on his asses and drove them home, having so fulfilled his mother's commands for her.

When the king was told of the stealing away of the dead thief's body he was very angry, and resolved by all means to find who it was that had plotted the deed. So he bade his daughter (such is the story, but I myself do not believe it) to sit in a certain room and receive alike all who came; before she had intercourse with any, she should compel him to tell her what was the cleverest trick and the greatest crime of his life; then if any told her the story of the thief she must seize him and not suffer him to pass out. The girl did as her father bade her. The thief, learning the purpose of the king's act, was minded to get the better of him by ready cunning. He therefore cut off the arm of a man newly dead at the shoulder, and went to the king's daughter, carrying it under his cloak, and when asked the same question as the rest, he told her that his greatest crime was the cutting off of his brother's head when the brother was caught in a trap in the king's treasury, and his cleverest trick the release of his brother's hanging body by making the guards drunk. Hearing this, the princess would have laid hands on him, but the thief in

τὴν χεῖρα· τὴν δὲ ἐπιλαβομένην ἔχειν, νομίζουσιν αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τῆς χειρὸς ἀντέχεσθαι· τὸν δὲ φῶρα προέμειον αὐτῇ οἷχεσθαι διὰ θυρέων φεύγοντα.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ἀνηνείχθη, ἐκπεπλήχθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυφροσύνῃ τε καὶ τόλμῃ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τέλος δὲ διαπέμποντα ἐς πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι ἀδείην τε διδόντα καὶ μεγάλα ὑποδεκόμενον ἐλθόντι ἐς ὕψιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα πιστεύσαντα ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, Ῥαμψίνιτον δὲ μεγάλως θωμάσαι, καὶ οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην συνοικίσαι ὥς πλείστα ἐπισταμένῳ ἀνθρώπων. Αἰγυπτίους μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων προκεκρίσθαι, ἐκείνων δὲ Αἰγυπτίων.

122. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγον τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα ζῶν καταβῆναι κάτω ἐς τὸν οἶ "Ελληνες" Αἰδὴν νομίζουσι εἶναι, καὶ κεῖθι συγκυβεύειν τῇ Δήμητρι, καὶ τὰ μὲν νικᾶν αὐτὴν τὰ δὲ ἐσσοῦσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ μιν πάλιν ἀπικέσθαι δῶρον ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτῆς χειρόμακτρον χρύσειον. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥαμψινίτου καταβάσιος, ὥς πάλιν ἀπίκητο, ὅρτην δὴ ἀνάγειν Αἰγυπτίους ἔφασαν· τὴν καὶ ἐγὼ οἶδα ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐπιτελέοντας αὐτοὺς, οὐ μέντοι εἴ γε διὰ ταῦτα ὀρτάζουσι ἔχω λέγειν. φᾶρος δὲ αὐτημερὸν ἐξυφήναντες οἱ ἱεεὶς κατ' ὧν ἔδωσαν ἐνὸς ἑωυτῶν μίτρῃ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἀγαγόντες δὲ μιν ἔχοντα τὸ φᾶρος ἐς ὁδὸν φέρουσιν ἐς ἱρὸν Δήμητρος αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλάσσονται ὀπίσω· τὸν δὲ ἱεὲς τοῦτον καταδεδεμένον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς λέγουσι ὑπὸ δύο λύκων ἄγεσθαι ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Δήμητρος ἀπέχον τῆς πόλιος εἴκοσι σταδίους, καὶ αὐτὶς ὀπίσω ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἀπάγειν μιν τοὺς λύκους ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον.

the darkness giving her the dead man's arm, she seized that, thinking that she was grasping the arm of the thief, who, having given it to her, made his escape by way of the door.

When this also came to the king's ears, he was astonished at the man's ingenuity and daring, and in the end, he sent a proclamation to every town, promising the thief impunity and a great reward if he would come into the king's presence. The thief trusted the king and came before him; Rhampsinitus admired him greatly and gave him his daughter to wife for his surpassing cleverness, for as the Egyptians (said he) excelled all others in craft, so did he excel the Egyptians.

122. After this (said the priests) this king went down alive to the place which the Greeks call Hades; there he played dice with Demeter, and after both winning and losing he returned back with a gift from her of a golden napkin. From this descent of Rhampsinitus the Egyptians were said by the priests to have kept a festival after his return, which to my own knowledge they celebrate to this day, but whether it be for that cause I cannot say. On the day of this festival the priests weave a cloth and bind it for a headgear on the eyes of one among themselves, whom they then lead, wearing the cloth, into a road that goes to the temple of Demeter; they themselves return back, but this priest with his eyes bandaged is guided (say they) by two wolves<sup>1</sup> to Demeter's temple, a distance of twenty furlongs from the city, and led back again from the temple by the wolves to the same place.

<sup>1</sup> Jackals appear on Egyptian monuments, symbolising Anubis, the guide of the dead.

123. Τοῖσι μὲν νυν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένοισι χράσθω ὅτεφ τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανά ἐστι· ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑπόκειται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἐκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω. ἀρχηγετέειν δὲ τῶν κάτω Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι Δήμητρα καὶ Διόνυσον. πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ εἰπόντες, ὥς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος ἐστί, τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθίνοντος ἐς ἄλλο ζῶον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσδύεται, ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντα περιέλθῃ τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινά, αὐτὶς ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσδύνει· τὴν περιήλυσιν δὲ αὐτῇ γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχιλίοισι ἔτεσι. τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσὶ οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, οἱ μὲν πρότερον οἱ δὲ ὕστερον, ὥς ἰδίῳ ἑωυτῶν εἶναι τῶν ἐγὼ εἰδὼς τὰ οὐνόματα οὐ γράφω.

124. Μέχρι μὲν νυν Ῥαμψινίτου βασιλέος εἶναι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πᾶσαν εὐνομίην ἔλεγον καὶ εὐθηνέειν Αἴγυπτον μεγάλως, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεύσαντα σφέων Χέοπα ἐς πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐλάσαι. κατακληίσαντα γάρ μιν πάντα τὰ ἱρὰ πρῶτα μὲν σφέας θυσιέων τουτέων ἀπέρξαι, μετὰ δὲ ἐργάζεσθαι ἑωυτῷ κελεύειν πάντας Αἰγυπτίους. τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἀποδεδέχθαι ἐκ τῶν λιθοτομέων τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ ὄρει, ἐκ τουτέων ἔλκειν λίθους μέχρι τοῦ Νείλου· διαπεραιωθέντας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν πλοίοισι τοὺς λίθους ἑτέροισι ἐπέταξε ἐκδέκεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλούμενον ὄρος, πρὸς τοῦτο ἔλκειν. ἐργάζοντο δὲ κατὰ δέκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ τὴν τρίμηνον ἐκάστην. χρόνον δὲ ἐγγενέσθαι τριβομένῳ τῷ λεφῷ δέκα ἔτεα μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ κατ' ἥν ἐίλκον τοὺς λίθους, τὴν ἔδειμαν ἔργον εἶναι οὐ πολλῷ τεφ ἔλασσαν τῆς πυραμίδος. ὥς ἐμοὶ



123. These Egyptian stories are for the use of whosoever believes such tales: for myself, it is my rule throughout this history that I record whatever is told me as I have heard it.

It is believed in Egypt that the rulers of the lower world are Demeter and Dionysus.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the Egyptians were the first to teach that the human soul is immortal, and at the death of the body enters into some other living thing then coming to birth; and after passing through all creatures of land, sea, and air (which cycle it completes in three thousand years) it enters once more into a human body at birth. Some of the Greeks, early and late, have used this doctrine as if it were their own; I know their names, but do not here record them.

124. Till the time of Rhampsinitus Egypt (so the priests told me) was in all ways well governed and greatly prospered, but Cheops, who was the next king, brought the people to utter misery. For first he shut up all the temples, so that none could sacrifice there; and next, he compelled all the Egyptians to work for him, appointing to some to drag stones from the quarries in the Arabian mountains to the Nile: and the stones being carried across the river in boats, others were charged to receive and drag them to the mountains called Libyan. They worked in gangs of a hundred thousand men, each gang for three months. For ten years the people were afflicted in making the road whereon the stones were dragged, the making of which road was to my thinking a task but a little lighter than the building of the pyramid,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Isis and Osiris.

<sup>2</sup> The "Great Pyramid."

δοκέειν· τῆς μὲν γὰρ μῆκος εἰσὶ πέντε στάδια, εὖρος δὲ δέκα ὀργυαί, ὕψος δέ, τῇ ὑψηλοτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὐτὴ ἑωυτῆς, ὀκτὼ ὀργυαί, λίθου δὲ ξεστοῦ καὶ ζῶων ἐγγεγλυμμένων· ταύτης τε δὴ τὰ δέκα ἔτεα γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου ἐπ' οὐ ἐστᾶσι αἱ πυραμίδες, τῶν ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκημάτων, τὰς ἐποιέετο θήκας ἑωυτῷ ἐν νήσῳ, διώρυχα τοῦ Νείλου ἐσαγαγών. τῇ δὲ πυραμίδι αὐτῇ χρόνον γενέσθαι εἴκοσι ἔτεα ποιευμένη· τῆς ἐστὶ πανταχῇ μέτωπον ἕκαστον ὀκτὼ πλέθρα ἐούσης τετραγώνου καὶ ὕψος ἴσον, λίθου δὲ ξεστοῦ τε καὶ ἄρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα· οὐδεὶς τῶν λίθων τριήκοντα ποδῶν ἐλάσσω.

125. Ἐποιήθη δὲ ὧδε αὕτη ἡ πυραμίς· ἀναβαθμῶν τρόπον, τὰς μετεξέτεροι κρύσσας οἱ δὲ βωμίδας ὀνομάζουσι, τοιαύτην τὸ πρῶτον ἐπέτε ἐποίησαν αὐτήν, ἥειρον τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους λίθους μηχανῇσι ξύλων βραχέων πεποιημένησι, χαμᾶθεν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον στοῖχον τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν αἶιροντες· ὅκως δὲ ἀνίοι ὁ λίθος ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἐς ἐτέρην μηχανὴν ἐτίθετο ἐστεῶσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου στοίχου, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον εἴλκετο στοῖχον ἐπ' ἄλλης μηχανῆς· ὅσοι γὰρ δὴ στοῖχοι ἦσαν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, τοσαῦται καὶ μηχαναὶ ἦσαν, εἴτε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μηχανὴν ἐοῦσαν μίαν τε καὶ εὐβάστακτον μετεφόρεον ἐπὶ στοῖχον ἕκαστον, ὅκως τὸν λίθον ἐξέλοιεν· λελέχθω γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐπ' ἀμφότερα, κατὰ περ λέγεται. ἐξεποιήθη δ' ὧν τὰ ἀνώτατα αὐτῆς πρῶτα, μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐχόμενα τούτων ἐξεποιέειν, τελευταῖα δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπίγαια καὶ τὰ κατωτάτω ἐξεποίησαν. σεσήμανται δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων Αἰγυπτίων ἐν τῇ πυρα-

for the road is five furlongs long and ten fathoms broad, and raised at its highest to a height of eight fathoms, and it is all of stone polished and carven with figures. The ten years aforesaid went to the making of this road and of the underground chambers on the hill whereon the pyramids stand; these the king meant to be burial-places for himself, and encompassed them with water, bringing in a channel from the Nile. The pyramid itself was twenty years in the making. Its base is square, each side eight hundred feet long, and its height is the same; the whole is of stone polished and most exactly fitted; there is no block of less than thirty feet in length.

125. This pyramid was made like a stairway with tiers, or steps. When this, its first form, was completed, the workmen used levers made of short wooden logs to raise the rest of the stones;<sup>1</sup> they heaved up the blocks from the ground on to the first tier of steps; when the stone had been so raised it was set on another lever that stood on the first tier, and a lever again drew it up from this tier to the next. It may be that there was a new lever on each tier of the steps, or perhaps there was but one lever, and that easily lifted, which they carried up to each tier in turn, when they had taken out the stone; I leave this uncertain, both ways being told me. But this is certain, that the upper part of the pyramid was the first finished off, then the next below it, and last of all the base and the lowest part. There are writings on<sup>2</sup> the pyramid

<sup>1</sup> That is, the stones which were to fill up the angles of the steps, and make the side of the pyramid a smooth inclined plane. The pyramids built by Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus respectively are the pyramids of Gizeh, near Cairo.

<sup>2</sup> Or, "in."

μίδι ὅσα ἔς τε συρμαίνην καὶ κρόμμυα καὶ σκόροδα ἀναισιμῶθι τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι· καὶ ὥς ἐμὲ εὖ μεμνήσθαι τὰ ὃ ἐρμηνεύς μοι ἐπιλεγόμενος τὰ γράμματα ἔφη, ἑξακόσια καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελέσθαι. εἰ δ' ἔστι οὕτω ἔχοντα ταῦτα, κόσα οἰκὸς ἄλλα δεδαπανῆσθαι ἐστὶ ἔς τε σίδηρον τῷ ἐργάζοντο καὶ σιτία καὶ ἐσθῆτα τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι, ὅκοτε χρόνον μὲν οἰκοδόμεον τὰ ἔργα τὸν εἰρημένον, ἄλλον δέ, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐν τῷ τοὺς λίθους ἔταμνον καὶ ἤγον καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν ὀρυγμα ἐργάζοντο, οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον.

126. Ἐς τοῦτο δὲ ἐλθεῖν Χέοπα κακότητος ὥστε χρημάτων δεόμενον τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑωντοῦ κατίσαντα ἐπ' οἰκήματος προστάξαι πρήσσεσθαι ἀργύριον ὅκοσον δὴ τι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε ἔλεγον. τὴν δὲ τὰ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταχθέντα πρήσσεσθαι, ιδίῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν διανοηθῆναι μνημῖον καταλιπέσθαι, καὶ τοῦ ἐσιόντος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκάστου δέεσθαι ὅκως ἂν αὐτῇ ἓνα λίθον ἐν τοῖσι ἔργοισι δωρέοιτο. ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν λίθων ἔφασαν τὴν πυραμίδα οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ἐστηκυῖαν, ἔμπροσθε τῆς μεγάλης πυραμίδος, τῆς ἐστὶ τὸ κῶλον ἑκαστον ὅλου καὶ ἡμίσεος πλέθρου.

127. Βασιλεῦσαι δὲ τὸν Χέοπα τοῦτον Αἰγύπτιοι ἔλεγον πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλῆην τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Χεφρήνα· καὶ τοῦτον δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ διαχρᾶσθαι τῷ ἐτέρῳ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ πυραμίδα ποιῆσαι, ἔς μὲν τὰ ἐκείνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν· ταῦτα γὰρ ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν· (οὔτε γὰρ ὕπεστι οἰκήματα ὑπὸ γῆν, οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου



in Egyptian characters showing how much was spent on purges and onions and garlic for the workmen; and so far as I well remember, the interpreter when he read me the writing said that sixteen hundred talents of silver had been paid. Now if that is so, how much must needs have been expended on the iron with which they worked, and the workmen's food and clothing? seeing that the time aforesaid was spent in building, and the hewing and carrying of the stone and the digging out of the underground parts was, as I suppose, a business of long duration.

126. And so evil a man was Cheops that for lack of money he made his own daughter to sit in a chamber and exact payment (how much, I know not; for they did not tell me this). She, they say, doing her father's bidding, was minded to leave some memorial of her own, and demanded of everyone who sought intercourse with her that he should give one stone to set in her work; and of these stones was built the pyramid that stands midmost of the three, over against the great pyramid; each side of it measures one hundred and fifty feet.

127. Cheops reigned (so the Egyptians said) for fifty years; at his death he was succeeded by his brother Chephren, who bore himself in all respects like Cheops. Chephren also built a pyramid, of a less size than his brother's. I have myself measured it. It has no underground chambers, nor is it entered

διῶρυξ ἦκει ἐς αὐτὴν ὥσπερ ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην ῥέουσα· οἱ οἰκοδομημένου δὲ αὐλῶνος ἔσω νήσον περιρρέει, ἐν τῇ αὐτὸν λέγουσι κεῖσθαι Χέοπα· ὑποδείμας δὲ τὸν πρῶτον δόμον λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου, τεσσαράκοντα πόδας ὑποβὰς τῆς ἐτέρης τῶντὸ μέγαθος, ἐχομένην τῆς μεγάλης οἰκοδόμησε. ἐστᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ λόφου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφοτέραι, μάλιστα ἐς ἑκατὸν πόδας ὑψηλοῦ. βασιλεῦσαι δὲ ἔλεγον Χεφρήνα ἕξ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα.

128. Ταῦτα ἕξ τε καὶ ἑκατὸν λογίζονται ἔτεα, ἐν τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι τε πᾶσαν εἶναι κακότητα καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ χρόνου τοσούτου κατακληισθέντα οὐκ ἀνοιχθῆναι. τούτους ὑπὸ μίσεος οὐ κάρτα θέλουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας καλέουσι ποιμένος Φιλίτιος, ὃς τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐνεμὲ κτήνεα κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία.

129. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι Αἰγύπτου Μυκερίνον ἔλεγον Χέοπος παῖδα· τῷ τὰ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργα ἀπαδεῖν, τὸν δὲ τὰ τε ἱρὰ ἀνοῖξαι καὶ τὸν λεῶν τετρυμένον ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀνεῖναι πρὸς ἔργα τε καὶ θυσίας, δίκας δὲ σφι πάντων βασιλέων δικαιοτάτα κρίνειν. κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν νυν τὸ ἔργον ἀπάντων ὅσοι ἤδη βασιλέες ἐγένοντο Αἰγυπτίων αἰνέουσι μάλιστα τοῦτον. τὰ τε ἄλλα γάρ μιν κρίνειν εὖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ ἐπιμεμφομένῳ ἐκ τῆς δίκης παρ' ἐωυτοῦ διδόντα ἄλλα ἀποπιμπλάναι αὐτοῦ τὸν θυμόν. εἰσὶν δὲ ἡπίῳ τῷ Μυκερίνῳ κατὰ τοὺς πολίτας καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύοντι πρῶτον κακῶν ἄρξαι τὴν θυγατέρα ἀποθανοῦσαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν μούνον οἱ εἶναι ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι τέκνον. τὸν δὲ ὑπεραλγῆσαντά τε τῷ

like the other by a canal from the Nile, but the river comes in through a built passage and encircles an island, in which, they say, Cheops himself lies. This pyramid was built of the same bigness as the other, save that it falls forty feet short of it in height; it stands near to the great pyramid; the lowest layer of it is of variegated Ethiopian stone. Both of them stand on the same ridge, which is about an hundred feet high. Chephren, they said, reigned for fifty-six years.

128. Thus they reckon that for a hundred and six years Egypt was in great misery and the temples so long shut were never opened. So much do the people hate the memory of these two kings that they do not greatly wish to name them, and call the pyramids after the shepherd Philitis, who then pastured his flocks in this place.<sup>1</sup>

129. The next king of Egypt, they said, was Cheops' son Mycerinus. He, being displeased with his father's doings, opened the temples and suffered the people, now ground down to the depth of misery, to go to their business and their sacrifices; and he was the justest judge among all the kings. It is on this account that he is praised beyond all the rulers of Egypt; for not only were his judgments just, but if any were not contented with the sentence Mycerinus would give such an one a present out of his own estate to satisfy him for his loss. Such was his practice, and so he ruled his people with clemency, yet calamities befel him, of which the first was the death of his daughter, the only child of his household. Greatly grieving

<sup>1</sup> This is the form which Hdt. gives to the story of the rule of the "shepherds" (Hyksos) in Lower Egypt, perhaps from 2100 to 1600 B.C.

περιεπεπτώκεε πρήγματι, καὶ βουλόμενον περισσότερόν τι τῶν ἄλλων θάψαι τὴν θυγατέρα, ποιήσασθαι βοῦν ξυλίνην κοίλην, καὶ ἔπειτα καταχρυσώσαντά μιν ταύτην ἔσω ἐν αὐτῇ θάψαι ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν θυγατέρα.

130. Αὕτη ὦν ἡ βοὺς γῇ οὐκ ἐκρύφθη, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν φανερή, ἐν Σαί μὲν πόλι ἐοῦσα, κειμένη δὲ ἐν τοῖσι βασιληίοισι ἐν οἰκῇματι ἡσκημένῳ· θυμῆματα δὲ παρ' αὐτῇ παντοῖα καταγίζουσι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, νύκτα δὲ ἐκάστην πάννυχος λύχνος παρακαίεται. ἀγχοῦ δὲ τῆς βοὸς ταύτης ἐν ἄλλῳ οἰκῇματι εἰκόνες τῶν παλλακείων τῶν Μυκερίνου ἐστᾶσι, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ ἐν Σαί πόλι ἱρέες· ἐστᾶσι μὲν γὰρ ξύλιναι κολοσσοί, ἐοῦσαι ἀριθμὸν ὡς εἴκοσι μάλιστα κη, γυμναὶ ἐργασμέναι· αἵτινες μέντοι εἰσί, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν πλὴν ἢ τὰ λεγόμενα.

131. Οἱ δὲ τινὲς λέγουσι περὶ τῆς βοὸς ταύτης καὶ τῶν κολοσσῶν τόνδε τὸν λόγον, ὡς Μυκερίνος ἠράσθη τῆς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατρὸς καὶ ἔπειτα ἐμίγη οἱ ἀεκούσῃ· μετὰ δὲ λέγουσι ὡς ἡ παῖς ἀπήγξατο ὑπὸ ἄχεος, ὃ δὲ μιν ἔθαψε ἐν τῇ βοῖ ταύτῃ, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῆς τῶν ἀμφιπόλων τῶν προδουσέων τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ πατρὶ ἀπέταμε τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ νῦν τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτέων εἶναι πεπονθυίας τὰ περ αἱ ζωαὶ ἔπαθον. ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι φλυηρέοντες, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν κολοσσῶν· ταύτας γὰρ ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὠρώμεν ὅτι ὑπὸ χρόνου τὰς χεῖρας ἀποβεβλήκασι, αἱ ἐν ποσὶ αὐτέων ἐφαίνοντο ἐοῦσαι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμέ.

132. Ἡ δὲ βοὺς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατακέκρυπται



over this misfortune, he desired to give her a burial something more excellent than ordinary; he made therefore a hollow cow's image of gilded wood and placed therein the body of his dead daughter.

130. This cow was not buried in the earth but was to be seen even in my time, in the town of Sais, where it lay in an adorned chamber of the palace; incense of all kinds is offered daily before it, and a lamp burns by it all through every night. There is another chamber near to this image, where stand the statues of Mycerinus' concubines, as the priests of Sais told me; and indeed there are about twenty colossal wooden figures there, made like naked women, but I have only the priests' word to show who they are.

131. Some have a story about the cow and the statues, how Mycerinus conceived a passion for his own daughter and did her foul wrong, and she strangled herself for grief: then he buried her, they say, in this image of a cow; the girl's mother cut off the hands of the attendants who had betrayed the daughter to her father, so that now (it is said) their statues are in the plight to which the living women were brought. But this I believe to be a foolish tale, especially as respects the hands of the figures. As we ourselves saw, it is time which has made the hands to drop away; they were to be seen even in my day lying on the ground before the statues.

132. As for the cow, it is covered with a purple

φοινικέῳ εἴματι, τὸν αὐχένα δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φαίνει κεχρυσωμένα παχεί κάρτα χρυσῷ· μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν κερέων ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλος μεμιμημένος ἔπεστι χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ ἡ βοῦς οὐκ ὀρθή ἀλλ' ἐν γούνασι κειμένη, μέγαθος δὲ ὅση περ μεγάλη βοῦς ζωή. ἐκφέρεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτα, ἔπειαν τύπτωνται Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεὸν ὑπ' ἐμεῦ ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι· τότε ὦν καὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκφέρουσι ἐς τὸ φῶς· φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν δεηθῆναι τοῦ πατρὸς Μυκερίνου ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἅπαξ μιν τὸν ἥλιον κατιδεῖν.

133. Μετὰ δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸ πάθος δεύτερα τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τάδε γενέσθαι· ἐλθεῖν οἱ μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ὡς μέλλοι ἐξ ἔτα μόνον βιοὺς τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τελευτήσῃν. τὸν δὲ δεινὸν ποιησάμενον πέμψαι ἐς τὸ μαντήιον τῷ θεῷ ὀνειδισμα, ἀντιμεμφόμενον ὅτι ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ πατὴρ καὶ πάτριος, ἀποκλησίσαντες τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ θεῶν οὐ μεμνημένοι ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φθείροντες, ἐβίωσαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, αὐτὸς δ' εὐσεβὴς ἐὼν μέλλοι ταχέως οὕτω τελευτήσῃν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρηστηρίου αὐτῷ δεύτερα ἐλθεῖν λέγοντα τούτων εἵνεκα καὶ συνταχύνειν αὐτὸν τὸν βίον· οὐ γὰρ ποιῆσαί μιν τὸ χρέον ἦν ποιέειν· δεῖν γὰρ Αἴγυπτον κακοῦσθαι ἐπ' ἔτα πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν δύο τοὺς πρὸ ἐκείνου γενομένους βασιλέας μαθεῖν τοῦτο, κεῖνον δὲ οὐ. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα τὸν Μυκερίνον, ὡς κατακεκριμένων ἤδη οἱ τούτων, λύχνα ποιησάμενον πολλά, ὅπως γίνοιτο νύξ, ἀνάψαντα

robe, and shows only the head and neck, which are encrusted with a very thick layer of gold. Between its horns it bears the golden figure of the sun's orb. It does not stand, but kneels; its stature is that of a live cow of great size. This image is carried out of the chamber once in every year, whenever the Egyptians make lamentation for the god whom I name not in speaking of these matters; it is then that the cow is brought out into the light, for Mycerinus' daughter, they say, entreated him at her death that she might see the sun once a year.<sup>1</sup>

133. After the grievous death of his daughter, it next happened to Mycerinus that an oracle was sent to him from the city of Buto, declaring that he had but six years to live and must die in the seventh. The king deemed this unjust, and sent back to the oracle a message of reproach, blaming the god: why must he die so soon who was pious, whereas his father and his uncle had lived long, who shut up the temples, and regarded not the gods, and destroyed men? But a second utterance from the place of divination declared to him that his good deeds were the very cause of shortening his life; for he had done what was contrary to fate; Egypt should have been afflicted for an hundred and fifty years, whereof the two kings before him had been aware, but not Mycerinus. Hearing this, he knew that his doom was fixed. Therefore he caused many lamps to be made, and would light these at nightfall and drink and make

<sup>1</sup> The cow-worship is no doubt the cult of Isis, honoured at Saïs under the name Nit.

αὐτὰ πίνειν τε καὶ εὐπαθέειν, οὔτε ἡμέρης οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀνιέντα, ἔς τε τὰ ἔλεια καὶ τὰ ἄλσέα πλανώμενον καὶ ἵνα πυνθάνοιτο εἶναι ἐνηβητήρια ἐπιτηδεότατα. ταῦτα δὲ ἐμηχανάτο θέλων τὸ μαντήιον ψευδόμενον ἀποδέξαι, ἵνα οἱ δυνώδεκα ἔτεα ἀντὶ ἑξ ἐτέων γένηται, αἱ νύκτες ἡμέραι ποιούμεναι.

134. Πυραμίδα δὲ οὗτος ἀπελίπετο πολλὸν ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρός, εἴκοσι ποδῶν καταδέουσαν κῶλον ἕκαστον τριῶν πλέθρων, εὐρύτης τετραγώνου, λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἥμισυ Αἰθιοπικοῦ· τὴν δὲ μετεξέτεροι φασὶ Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδῶπιος ἐταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες. οὐδὲ ὦν οὐδὲ εἰδότες μοι φαίνονται λέγειν οὔτοι ἦτις ἦν ἡ Ῥοδῶπις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οἱ πυραμίδα ἀνέθεσαν ποιήσασθαι τοιαύτην, ἐς τὴν ταλάντων χιλιάδες ἀναρίθμητοι ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀναισίμωνται· πρὸς δὲ ὅτι κατὰ Ἀμασιν βασιλεύοντα ἦν ἀκμάζουσα Ῥοδῶπις, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τοῦτον. ἔτεσι γὰρ κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὕστερον τούτων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τὰς πυραμίδας ταύτας ἦν λιπομένων Ῥοδῶπις, γενεὴν μὲν ἀπὸ Θρηίκης, δούλη δὲ ἦν Ἰάδμονος τοῦ Ἡφαιστοπόλιος ἀνδρὸς Σαμίου, σύνδουλος δὲ Αἰσώπου τοῦ λογοποιοῦ. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο, ὡς διέδεξε τῇδε οὐκ ἤκιστα· ἐπεῖτε γὰρ πολλάκις κηρυσσόντων Δελφῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου ὅς βούλοιτο ποιῆν τῆς Αἰσώπου ψυχῆς ἀνελεῖσθαι, ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐφάνη, Ἰάδμονος δὲ παιδὸς παῖς ἄλλος Ἰάδμων ἀνείλετο. οὕτω καὶ Αἰσώπος Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο.

135. Ῥοδῶπις δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκητο Ξάνθεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντος, ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ' ἐργασίην



merry; by day or night he never ceased from reveling, roaming to the marsh country and the groves and wherever he heard of the likeliest places of pleasure. Thus he planned, that by turning night into day he might make his six years into twelve and so prove the oracle false.

134. This king too left a pyramid, but far smaller than his father's; its sides form a square whereof each side is two hundred and eighty feet in length; as far as the half of its height it is of Ethiopian stone. Some Greeks say that it was built by Rhodopis, the courtesan, but they are in error; indeed it is clear to me that when they say this they do not know who Rhodopis was, else they would never have credited her with the building of a pyramid whereon what I may call an uncountable sum of talents must have been expended. And it is a further proof of their error that Rhodopis flourished in the reign of Amasis, not of Mycerinus, and thus very many years after these kings who built the pyramids. She was a Thracian by birth, slave to Iadmon, son of Hephaestopolis, a Samian, and fellow-slave of Aesopus the story-writer. For he also was owned by Iadmon; of which the chiefest proof is that when the Delphians, obeying an oracle, issued many proclamations inviting whosoever would to claim the penalty for the killing of Aesopus, none would undertake it but only another Iadmon, grandson of the first. Thus was Aesopus too shown to be the slave of Iadmon.

135. Rhodopis was brought to Egypt by Xánthes of Samos, and on her coming was for a great sum of

ἐλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου  
 Χάραξον τοῦ Σκαμανδρωνύμου παιδός, ἀδελφεοῦ  
 δὲ Σαπφούς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ. οὕτω δὴ ἡ Ῥοδῶπις  
 ἐλευθερώθη, καὶ κατέμεινέ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ  
 κάρτα ἐπαφρόδιτος γενομένη μεγάλη ἐκτήσατο  
 χρήματα ὥς ἂν εἶναι Ῥοδῶπι, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ὥς γε  
 ἐς πυραμίδα τοιαύτην ἐξικέσθαι. τῆς γὰρ τὴν  
 δεκάτην τῶν χρημάτων ἰδέσθαι ἐστὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐς  
 τόδε παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ, οὐδὲν δεῖ μεγάλα οἱ  
 χρήματα ἀναθεῖναι. ἐπεθύμησε γὰρ Ῥοδῶπις  
 μνημῆιον ἐωυτῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταλιπέσθαι,  
 ποίημα ποιησαμένη τοῦτο τὸ μὴ τυγχάνοι ἄλλῳ  
 ἐξευρημένον καὶ ἀνακείμενον ἐν ἱρῷ, τοῦτο ἀναθεῖναι  
 ἐς Δελφοὺς μνημόσυνον ἐωυτῆς. τῆς ὦν δεκάτης  
 τῶν χρημάτων ποιησαμένη ὀβελοὺς βουπόρους  
 πολλοὺς σιδηρέους, ὅσον ἐνεχώρεε ἡ δεκάτη οἱ,  
 ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφοὺς· οἱ καὶ νῦν ἔτι συννε-  
 νέαται ὅπισθε μὲν τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸν Χῖοι ἀνέθεσαν,  
 ἀντίον δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νηοῦ. φιλέουσι δέ κως ἐν τῇ  
 Ναυκράτι ἐπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι αἱ ἐταῖραι. τοῦτο  
 μὲν γὰρ αὕτη, τῆς πέρι λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος, οὕτω  
 δὴ τι κλεινὴ ἐγένετο ὥς καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες  
 Ῥοδῶπιος τὸ οὐνομα ἐξέμαθον· τοῦτο δὲ ὕστερον  
 ταύτης, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀρχιδίκη, αἰοίδιμος ἀνὰ τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα ἐγένετο, ἥσσον δὲ τῆς ἐτέρης περιλεσχί-  
 νευτος. Χάραξος δὲ ὥς λυσάμενος Ῥοδῶπιν ἀπε-  
 νόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐν μέλει Σαπφῶ πολλὰ  
 κατεκερτόμησέ μιν.

136. Ῥοδῶπιος μὲν νυν πέρι πέπαυμαι. μετὰ  
 δὲ Μυκερῖνον γενέσθαι Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἔλεγον  
 οἱ ἱεεὺς Ἀσυχιν, τὸν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα  
 ποιῆσαι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια, ἑόντα πολλῷ

money freed for the practice of her calling by Charaxus of Mytilene, son of Scamandronymus and brother of Sappho the poetess. Thus Rhodopis was set free and abode in Egypt, where, her charms becoming well known, she grew wealthy enough for a lady of her profession, but not for the building of such a pyramid. Seeing that to this day anyone who wishes may know what was the tenth part of her possessions, she cannot be credited with great wealth. For Rhodopis desired to leave a memorial of herself in Greece, by having something made which no one else had contrived and dedicated in a temple and presenting this at Delphi to preserve her memory; so she spent the tenth part of her substance on the making of a great number of iron ox-spits, as many as the tithe would pay for, and sent them to Delphi; these lie in a heap to this day, behind the altar set up by the Chians and in front of the shrine itself. It seems that the courtesans of Naucratis ever have the art of pleasing, for the woman of whom this story is told became so famous that all Greeks knew the name of Rhodopis, and in later days one Archidice was the theme of song throughout Greece, albeit less spoken of than the other. Charaxus, after giving Rhodopis her freedom, returned to Mytilene and was bitterly attacked by Sappho in one of her poems.

136. Enough has been said of Rhodopis. After Mycerinus, said the priests, Asuchis became king of Egypt. He built the eastern outer court of Hephaestus' temple; this is by much the fairest and

τε κάλλιστα καὶ πολλῷ μέγιστα· ἔχει μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ πάντα προπύλαια τύπους τε ἐγγεγλυμμένους καὶ ἄλλην ὄψιν οἰκοδομημάτων μυρίην, ἐκείνα δὲ καὶ μακρῷ μάλιστα. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἔλεγον, ἀμιξίης ἐούσης πολλῆς χρημάτων, γενέσθαι νόμον Αἰγυπτίοισι, ἀποδεικνύντα ἐνέχυρον τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν νέκυν οὕτω λαμβάνειν τὸ χρέος· προστεθῆναι δὲ ἔτι τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ τόνδε, τὸν διδόντα τὸ χρέος καὶ ἀπάσης κρατέειν τῆς τοῦ λαμβάνοντος θήκης, τῷ δὲ ὑποτιθέντι τοῦτο τὸ ἐνέχυρον τήνδε ἐπεῖναι ζημίην μὴ βουλομένῳ ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος, μήτε αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ τελευτήσαντι εἶναι ταφῆς κυρῆσαι μήτ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ πατρῴῳ τάφῳ μήτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, μήτε ἄλλον μηδένα τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἀπογενόμενον θάψαι. ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ βουλόμενον τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς πρότερον ἐωυτοῦ βασιλέας γενομένους Αἰγύπτου μνημόσυνον πυραμίδα λιπέσθαι ἐκ πλίνθων ποιήσαντα, ἐν τῇ γράμματα ἐν λίθῳ ἐγκεκολαμμένα τάδε λέγοντα ἐστί. “Μὴ με κατονοσθῆς πρὸς τὰς λιθίνας πυραμίδας· προέχω γὰρ αὐτέων τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. κοντῷ γὰρ ὑποτύπτοντες ἐς λίμνην, ὃ τι πρόσσχοιτο τοῦ πηλοῦ τῷ κοντῷ, τοῦτο συλλέγοντες πλίνθους εἴρυσαν καὶ με τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐξεποίησαν.”

137. Τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι ἄνδρα τυφλὸν ἐξ Ἀνύσιος πόλιος, τῷ οὐνομα Ἀνυσιν εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἐλάσαι ἐπ' Αἰγυπτον χειρὶ πολλῇ Αἰθίοπας τε καὶ Σαβακῶν τὸν Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλέα. τὸν μὲν δὴ τυφλὸν τοῦτον οἷχεσθαι φεύγοντα ἐς γὰρ ἔλεα, τὸν δὲ Αἰθίοπα βασιλεύειν Αἰγύπτου



largest of all the courts, for while all have carven figures and innumerable graces of architecture, this court has far more than any. In this king's reign as they told me, money in Egypt passed not readily from hand to hand; wherefore a law was made that a man might borrow on the security of his father's dead body; and the law provided also, that the lender should have a lien on the whole burial-vault of the borrower, and that the penalty for the giver of this security, should he fail to repay the debt, should be that he might neither himself be buried at death nor bury any deceased of his kin either in that tomb of his fathers nor in any other. Moreover, being desirous of excelling all who ruled Egypt before him, this king left a pyramid of brick to commemorate his name, on which is this writing, cut on a stone:—"Deem me not less than the pyramids of stone; for I am as much more excellent than they as Zeus is than the other gods; for they struck a pole down into a marsh and collected what mud clave to the pole; therewith they made bricks, and thus was I built."

137. These were the acts of Asuchis. After him reigned a blind man called Anysis, of the town of that name. In his reign Egypt was invaded by Sabacos king of Ethiopia and a great army of Ethiopians.<sup>1</sup> The blind man fleeing away into the marshes, the Ethiopians ruled Egypt for fifty years. It is

<sup>1</sup> In Manetho's list three Ethiopian kings form the twenty-fifth dynasty, Sabacon, Sebichos, and Taracos (the Tirhaka of the Old Testament).

ἐπ' ἕτεα πεντήκοντα, ἐν τοῖσι αὐτὸν τάδε ἀποδέξασθαι· ὅκως τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἀμάρτοι τι, κτείνειν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδένα ἐθέλειν, τὸν δὲ κατὰ μέγαθος τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἐκάστῳ δικάζειν ἐπιτάσσοντα χώματα χεῖν πρὸς τῇ ἐαυτῶν πόλει, ὅθεν ἕκαστος ἦν τῶν ἀδικούντων, καὶ οὕτω ἔτι αἱ πόλεις ἐγένοντο ὑψηλότεραι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐχώσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν τὰς διώρυχας ὀρυζάντων ἐπὶ Σεσωστριος βασιλέως, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος καὶ κάρτα ὑψηλαὶ ἐγένοντο. ὑψηλέων δὲ καὶ ἑτερέων γενομένων ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ πολιῶν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μάλιστα ἢ ἐν Βουβάστι πόλις ἐξεχώσθη, ἐν τῇ καὶ ἱρὸν ἐστὶ Βουβάστιος ἀξιαπηγητότατον· μέζω μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ πολυδαπανώτερα ἐστὶ ἱρά, ἡδονὴ δὲ ἰδέσθαι οὐδὲν τούτου μᾶλλον. ἢ δὲ Βούβαστις κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλωῶσαν ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμις.

138. Τὸ δ' ἱρὸν αὐτῆς ὧδε ἔχει. πλὴν τῆς ἐσόδου τὸ ἄλλο νῆσος ἐστὶ· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχες ἐσέχουσι οὐ συμμίσγουςαι ἀλλήλησι, ἀλλ' ἄχρι τῆς ἐσόδου τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐκατέρῃ ἐσέχει, ἢ μὲν τῇ περιρρέουσα ἢ δὲ τῇ, εὖρος ἐοῦσα ἐκατέρῃ ἑκατὸν πῶδων, δένδρεσι κατὰσκιος. τὰ δὲ προπύλαια ὕψος μὲν δέκα ὀργυιέων ἐστὶ, τύποισι δὲ ἐξαπήχεσι ἐσκευάδαται ἀξίοισι λόγου. ἐὼν δ' ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει τὸ ἱρὸν κατορᾶται πάντοθεν περιμόντι· ἅτε γὰρ τῆς πόλιος μὲν ἐκκεχωσμένης ὑψοῦ, τοῦ δ' ἱροῦ οὐ κεινημένου ὡς ἀρχήθεν ἐποιήθη, ἔσοπτον ἐστὶ. περιθέει δὲ αὐτὸ αἵμασι ἑγγεγλυμμένη τύποισι, ἔστι δὲ ἔσωθεν ἄλσος δενδρέων μεγίστων πεφυτευμένον περὶ νηὸν μέγαν, ἐν τῷ δὴ τῷγαλμα ἐνι· εὖρος δὲ καὶ μῆκος τοῦ ἱροῦ πάντῃ σταδίου ἐστὶ. κατὰ

recorded in the history of his reign that he would never put to death any Egyptian wrongdoer, but sentenced all, according to the greatness of their offence, to raise embankments in the town of which each was a native. Thus the towns came to stand yet higher than before; for having been first built on embankments made by the diggers of the canals in the reign of Sesostris, they were yet further raised in the reign of the Ethiopian. Other Egyptian towns, to my thinking, were so dealt with, but the level of Bubastis was raised more than any. In this town there is a temple of Bubastis, and it is a building most worthy of note. Other temples are greater and more costly, but none pleasanter to the eye than this. Bubastis is, in the Greek language, Artemis.

138. I will now show the form of her temple: save for the entrance, it stands on an island; two separate channels approach it from the Nile, and after coming up to the entry of the temple, they run round it on opposite sides; each of them is an hundred feet wide, and overshadowed by trees. The outer court has a height of ten fathoms, and is adorned with notable figures six cubits high. The temple is in the midst of the city, the whole circuit of which commands a view down into it; for the city's level has been raised, but that of the temple has been left as it was from the first, so that it can be seen into from without. A stone wall, carven with figures, runs round it; within is a grove of very tall trees growing round a great shrine, wherein is the image of the goddess; the temple is a square, each side measuring a furlong.

μὲν δὴ τὴν ἔσοδον ἐστρωμένη ἐστὶ ὁδὸς λίθου ἐπὶ σταδίου τρεῖς μάλιστα κη, διὰ τῆς ἀγορῆς φέρουσα ἐς τὸ πρὸς ἡῶ, εὖρος δὲ ὡς τεσσέρων πλέθρων· τῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῆς ὁδοῦ δένδρεα οὐρανομήκεα πέφυκε· φέρει δὲ ἐς Ἑρμέω ἱρόν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρόν τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχει.

139. Τέλος δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ὧδε ἔλεγον γενέσθαι· ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιήνδε ἰδόντα αὐτὸν οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα· ἐδόκέε οἱ ἄνδρα ἐπιστάντα συμβουλευεῖν τοὺς ἱρέας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συλλέξαντα πάντας μέσους διαταμεῖν. ἰδόντα δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην λέγειν αὐτὸν ὡς πρόφασιν οἱ δοκέοι ταύτην τοὺς θεοὺς προδεικνύναι, ἵνα ἀσεβήσας περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ κακόν τι πρὸς θεῶν ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων λάβοι· οὐκ ὧν ποιήσῃ ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ γάρ οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν χρόνον, ὁκόσον κεχρησθαι ἄρξαντα Αἰγύπτου ἐκχωρήσειν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ εἰσὶν αὐτῷ τὰ μαντήια, τοῖσι χρέωνται Αἰθίοπες, ἀνεῖλε ὡς δέοι αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσαι ἔτεα πενήκοντα. ὡς ὦν ὁ χρόνος οὗτος ἐξήιε καὶ αὐτὸν ἢ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐπετάρασσε, ἐκὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁ Σαβακῶς.

140. Ὡς δ' ἄρα οἴχεσθαι τὸν Αἰθίοπα ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, αὐτὶς τὸν τυφλὸν ἄρχειν ἐκ τῶν ἐλέων ἀπικόμενον, ἔνθα πενήκοντα ἔτεα νῆσον χώσας σποδῷ τε καὶ γῇ οἶκεε. ὅπως γάρ οἱ φοιτᾶν σίτον ἄγοντας Αἰγυπτίων, ὡς ἐκάστοισι προστετάχθαι, σιγῇ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος, ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν κελεύειν σφέας καὶ σποδὸν κομίζειν. ταύτην τὴν νῆσον οὐδεὶς πρότερον ἐδυνάσθη Ἀμυρταίου ἐξευρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἔτεα ἐπὶ πλέω ἢ ἐπτακόσια οὐκ οἰοί τε ἦσαν



A road, paved with stone, of about three furlongs' length leads to the entrance, running eastward through the market place, towards the temple of Hermes; this road is about four hundred feet wide, and bordered by trees reaching to heaven. Such is this temple.

139. Now the departure of the Ethiopian (they said) was accomplished on this wise. He fled away from the country, having seen in a dream one who stood over him and counselled him to gather together all the priests in Egypt and cut them in sunder. Having seen this vision, he said that he supposed it to be a manifestation sent to him by the gods, that he might commit sacrilege and so be punished by gods or men; he would not (he said) act so, but otherwise, for the time foretold for his rule over Egypt, after which he was to depart, was now fulfilled: for when he was still in Ethiopia the oracles which are inquired of by the people of that country declared to him that he was fated to reign fifty years over Egypt. Seeing that this time was now completed and that he was troubled by what he saw in his dream, Sabacos departed from Egypt of his own accord.

140. The Ethiopian having left Egypt, the blind man (it is said) was king once more, returning from the marshes, where he had dwelt fifty years on an island which he built of ashes and earth; for the Egyptians, who were severally charged to bring him food without the Ethiopian's knowledge, were bidden by the king to bring ashes whenever they came, as their gift. This island was never discovered before the time of Amyrtaeus; all the kings before him sought it in vain.

αὐτὴν ἀνευρεῖν οἱ πρότεροι γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς Ἀμυρταίου. οὖνομα δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ Ἑλβώ, μέγαθος δ' ἐστὶ πάντῃ δέκα σταδίων.

141. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Σεθῶν τὸν ἐν ἀλογίῃσι ἔχειν παραχρησάμενον τῶν μαχίμων Αἰγυπτίων ὥς οὐδὲν δεησόμενον αὐτῶν, ἅλλα τε δὴ ἄτιμα ποιεῦντα ἐς αὐτούς, καὶ σφεας ἀπελέσθαι τὰς ἀρούρας τοῖσι ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων δεδοσθαι ἐξαιρέτους ἐκάστῳ δυώδεκα ἀρούρας. μετὰ δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐλαύνειν στρατὸν μέγαν Σαναχάριβον βασιλέα Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων οὐκὼν δὴ ἐθέλειν τοὺς μαχίμους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βοηθεῖν. τὸν δ' ἱρέα ἐς ἀπορίην ἀπειλημένον ἐσελθόντα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον πρὸς τῷ γαλμα ἀποδύρεσθαι οἷα κινδυνεύει παθεῖν. ὀλοφυρόμενον δ' ἄρα μιν ἐπελθεῖν ὕπνον, καὶ οἱ δόξαι ἐν τῇ ὄψι ἐπιστάντα τὸν θεὸν θαρσύνειν ὥς οὐδὲν πείσεται ἄχαρι ἀντιάζων τὸν Ἀραβίων στρατὸν αὐτὸς γάρ οἱ πέμψειν τιμωρούς. τούτοισι δὴ μιν πίσυνον τοῖσι ἐνυπνίοισι, παραλαβόντα Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς βουλομένους οἱ ἔπεσθαι, στρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐν Πηλουσίῳ ταύτῃ γὰρ εἰσὶ αἱ ἐσβολαί· ἔπεσθαι δέ οἱ τῶν μαχίμων μὲν οὐδένα ἀνδρῶν, καπῆλους δὲ καὶ χειρώνακτας καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους. ἐνθαῦτα ἀπικομένοισι<sup>1</sup> τοῖσι ἐναντίοις αὐτοῖσι ἐπιχυθέντας νυκτὸς μὺς ἀρουραίους κατὰ μὲν φαγεῖν τοὺς φαρετρεῶνας αὐτῶν κατὰ δὲ τὰ τόξα, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ ὄχανα, ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίῃ

<sup>1</sup> Stein reads ἀπικομένοις, and supposes a lacuna after ἐναντίοις; ἀπικομένοις has the best authority.

for more than seven hundred years. The name of it is Elbo, and it is ten furlongs long and of an equal breadth.

141. The next king was the priest of Hephaestus, whose name was Sethos. He despised and took no account of the warrior Egyptians, thinking he would never need them; besides otherwise dishonouring them, he took away the chosen lands which had been given to them, twelve fields to each man, in the reign of former kings. So presently came king Sanacharib<sup>1</sup> against Egypt, with a great host of Arabians and Assyrians; and the warrior Egyptians would not march against him. The priest, in this quandary, went into the temple shrine and there bewailed to the god's image the peril which threatened him. In his lamentation he fell asleep, and dreamt that he saw the god standing over him and bidding him take courage, for he should suffer no ill by encountering the host of Arabia: "Myself," said the god, "will send you champions." So he trusted the vision, and encamped at Pelusium with such Egyptians as would follow him, for here is the road into Egypt; and none of the warriors would go with him, but only hucksters and artificers and traders. Their enemies too came thither, and one night a multitude of fieldmice<sup>2</sup> swarmed over the Assyrian camp and devoured their quivers and their bows and the handles of their shields likewise, inso-

<sup>1</sup> Sennacherib's attack on Hezekiah of Judaea was made on his march to Egypt.—II Kings, xviii.

<sup>2</sup> This is Hdt.'s version of the Jewish story of the pestilence which destroyed the Assyrian army before Jerusalem. Mice are a Greek symbol of pestilence; it is Apollo Smintheus (the mouse god) who sends and then stays the plague in Homer, *Il.* i. It has long been known that rats are carriers of the plague.

φευγόντων σφέων γυμνῶν πεσεῖν πολλούς. καὶ νῦν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔστηκε ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου λίθινος, ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μῦν, λέγων διὰ γραμμάτων τάδε· “Ἐς ἐμέ τις ὀρέων εὖσεβῆς ἔστω.”

142. Ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε τοῦ λόγου Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον, ἀποδεικνύντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸν ἱεῖα τοῦτον τὸν τελευταῖον βασιλεύσαντα μίαν τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας γενεὰς ἀνθρώπων γενομένας, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃσι ἀρχιερέας καὶ βασιλέας ἑκατέρους τοσοῦτους γενομένους. καίτοι τριηκόσια μὲν ἀνδρῶν γενεαὶ δυνέεται μύρια ἕτεα· γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἕτεα ἐστί· μῆς δὲ καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτι τῶν ἐπιλοίπων γενεῶν, αἱ ἐπῆσαν τῇσι τριηκοσίῃσι, ἐστὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια καὶ χίλια ἕτεα. οὕτω ἐν μυρίοις τε ἕτεσι καὶ χιλίοις καὶ τριηκοσίοις τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔλεγον θεὸν ἀνθρωποειδέα οὐδένα γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ πρότερον οὐδὲ ὕστερον ἐν τοῖσι ὑπολοίποισι Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσι γενομένοις ἔλεγον οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο. ἐν τοίνυν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις ἔλεγον ἕξ ἡθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι· ἔνθα τε νῦν καταδύεται, ἐνθεῦτεν δις ἐπαντεῖλαι, καὶ ἔνθεν νῦν ἀνατέλλει, ἐνθαῦτα δις καταδύναι. καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν κατ’ Αἴγυπτον ὑπὸ ταῦτα ἑτεροιωθῆναι, οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ σφί γινόμενα, οὔτε τὰ ἀμφὶ νούσους οὔτε τὰ κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους.

143. Πρότερον δὲ Ἐκαταίῳ τῷ λογοποιῷ ἐν Θήβῃσι γενεηλογήσαντί τε ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἀναδήσαντι τὴν πατριὴν ἐς ἑκκαίδεκατον θεὸν ἐποίησαν



much that they fled the next day unarmed and many fell. And at this day a stone statue of the Egyptian king stands in Hephaestus' temple, with a mouse in his hand, and an inscription to this effect: "Look on me, and fear the gods."

142. Thus far went the record given me by the Egyptians and their priests; and they showed me that the time from the first king to that priest of Hephaestus, who was the last, covered three hundred and forty-one generations of men, and that in this time such also had been the number of their kings, and of their high priests. Now three hundred generations make up ten thousand years, three generations being equal to a century. And over and above the three hundred the remaining forty-one cover thirteen hundred and forty years. Thus the whole sum is eleven thousand three hundred and forty years; in all which time (they said) they had had no king who was a god in human form, nor had there been any such thing either before or after those years among the rest of the kings of Egypt. Four times in this period (so they told me) the sun rose contrary to his wont; twice he rose where he now sets, and twice he set where now he rises; yet Egypt at these times underwent no change, neither in the produce of the river and the land, nor in the matter of sickness and death.

143. Hecataeus<sup>1</sup> the historian was once at Thebes, where he made for himself a genealogy which connected him by lineage with a god in the sixteenth

<sup>1</sup> Hecataeus died soon after the Persian war.

οἱ ἱρέες τοῦ Διὸς οἶόν τι καὶ ἐμοὶ οὐ γενεηλογήσαντι ἐμεωυτὸν· ἐσαγαγόντες ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἔσω ἐὼν μέγα ἐξηρίθμεον δεικνύντες κολοσσούς ξυλίνους τοσούτους ὅσους περ εἶπον· ἀρχιερεὺς γὰρ ἕκαστος αὐτόθι ἰστά· ἐπὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ζῆς εἰκόνα ἐωυτοῦ· ἀριθμέοντες ὧν καὶ δεικνύντες οἱ ἱρέες ἐμοὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν παῖδα πατρὸς ἐωυτῶν ἕκαστον εἶοντα, ἐκ τοῦ ἄγχιστα ἀποθανόντος τῆς εἰκόνας διεξιόντες διὰ πα·έων, ἕως οὐ ἀπέδεξαν ἀπάσας αὐτάς. Ἐκαταίῳ δὲ γενεηλογήσαντι ἐωυτὸν καὶ ἀναδῆσαντι ἐς ἑκκαιδέκατον θεὸν ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριθμήσι, οὐ δεκόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον· ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν δὲ ὧδε, φάμενοι ἕκαστον τῶν κολοσσῶν πύρῳμιν ἐκ πυρώμιος γεγονέναι, ἐς ὃ τοὺς πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίους ἀπέδεξαν κολοσσούς [πύρῳμιν ἐπονομαζόμενον],<sup>1</sup> καὶ οὔτε ἐς θεὸν οὔτε ἐς ἥρωα ἀνέδησαν αὐτούς. πύρῳμις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν καλὸς κάγαθος.

144. Ἦδη ὧν τῶν αἱ εἰκόνες ἦσαν, τοιούτους ἀπεδείκνυσαν σφέας πάντας εἶοντας, θεῶν δὲ πολλὸν ἀπαλλαγμένους. τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρχοντας, οὐκ εἶοντας ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, καὶ τούτων αἰεὶ ἓνα τὸν κρατέοντα εἶναι· ὕστατον δὲ αὐτῆς βασιλεῦσαι Ὀρον τὸν Ὀσίριος παῖδα, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἕλληνες ὀνομάζουσι· τοῦτον καταπαύσαντα Τυφῶνα βασιλεῦσαι ὕστατον Αἰγύπτου. Ὀσιρις δὲ ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν.

<sup>1</sup> Whether we read *ἐπονομαζόμενον* (with Stein) or *πύρῳμιν ἐκ πυρώμιος γενόμενον* (with the MSS.) the words do not accord with the construction of the sentence.

generation. But the priests did for him what they did for me (who had not traced my own lineage). They brought me into the great inner court of the temple and showed me there wooden figures which they counted up to the number they had already given, for every high priest sets there in his lifetime a statue of himself; counting and pointing to these, the priests showed me that each inherited from his father; they went through the whole tale of figures, back to the earliest from that of him who had latest died. Thus when Hecataeus had traced his descent and claimed that his sixteenth forefather was a god, the priests too traced a line of descent according to the method of their counting; for they would not be persuaded by him that a man could be descended from a god; they traced descent through the whole line of three hundred and forty-five figures, not connecting it with any ancestral god or hero, but declaring each figure to be a "Piromis" the son of a "Piromis," that is, in the Greek language, one who is in all respects a good man.

144. Thus they showed that all whose statues stood there had been good men, but wholly unlike gods. Before these men, they said, the rulers of Egypt were gods, but none had been contemporary with the human priests. Of these gods one or other had in succession been supreme; the last of them to rule the country was Osiris' son Horus, called by the Greeks Apollo; he deposed Typhon,<sup>1</sup> and was the last divine king of Egypt. Osiris is, in the Greek language, Dionysus.

<sup>1</sup> Typhon is the Egyptian Set, the god of destruction.

145. Ἐν Ἑλλησι μὲν νυν νεώτατοι τῶν θεῶν νομίζονται εἶναι Ἡρακλῆς τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ Πάν, παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ Πάν μὲν ἀρχαιότατος καὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ τῶν πρώτων λεγομένων θεῶν, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ τῶν δευτέρων τῶν δυνώδεκα λεγομένων εἶναι, Διόνυσος δὲ τῶν τρίτων, οἳ ἐκ τῶν δυνώδεκα θεῶν ἐγένοντο. Ἡρακλεί μὲν δὴ ὅσα αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ εἶναι ἔτεα ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλέα, δεδήλωταί μοι πρόσθε· Πανὶ δὲ ἔτι τούτων πλεονα λέγεται εἶναι, Διονύσῳ δ' ἐλάχιστα τούτων, καὶ τούτῳ πεντακισχίλια καὶ μύρια λογιζονται εἶναι ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλέα. καὶ ταῦτα Αἰγύπτιοι ἀτρεκέως φασὶ ἐπίστασθαι, αἰεὶ τε λογιζόμενοι καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτεα. Διονύσῳ μὲν νυν τῷ ἐκ Σεμέλης τῆς Κάδμου λεγομένῳ γενέσθαι κατὰ ἑξακόσια ἔτεα καὶ χίλια μάλιστα ἐστὶ ἐς ἐμέ, Ἡρακλεί δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης κατὰ εἰνακόσια ἔτεα· Πανὶ δὲ τῷ ἐκ Πηνελόπης (ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ καὶ Ἑρμῆω λέγεται γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὁ Πάν) ἐλάσσῳ ἔτεα ἐστὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν, κατὰ ὀκτακόσια μάλιστα ἐς ἐμέ.

146. Τούτων ὧν ἀμφοτέρων πάρεστι χρᾶσθαι τοῖσί τις πείσεται λεγομένοις μᾶλλον· ἐμοὶ δ' ὧν ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμη ἀποδέδεκται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ φανεροί τε ἐγένοντο καὶ κατεγήρασαν καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, κατὰ περ Ἡρακλῆς ὁ ἐξ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γενόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ Πάν ὁ ἐκ Πηνελόπης γενόμενος, ἔφη ἂν τις καὶ τούτους ἄλλους ἄνδρας γενομένους ἔχειν τὰ ἐκείνων οὐνόματα τῶν προγεγονότων θεῶν. νῦν δὲ Διόνυσόν τε λέγουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες ὡς αὐτίκα γενόμενον ἐς τὸν μῆρὸν ἐνερράψατο Ζεὺς καὶ



145. Among the Greeks, Heracles, Dionysus, and Pan are held to be the youngest of the gods. But in Egypt Pan<sup>1</sup> is the most ancient of these and is one of the eight gods who are said to be the first of all, Heracles belongs to the second dynasty (that of the so-called twelve gods), and Dionysus to the third, which came after the twelve. How many years there were between Heracles and the reign of Amasis, I have already shown; Pan is said to be earlier still; the years between Dionysus and Amasis are the fewest, and they are reckoned by the Egyptians at fifteen thousand. Of all this the Egyptians claim to have certain knowledge, seeing that they had always reckoned the years and chronicled them in writing. Now the Dionysus who was called the son of Semele, daughter of Cadmus, was about sixteen hundred years before my time, and Heracles son of Alcmene about nine hundred years; and Pan the son of Penelope (for according to the Greeks Penelope and Hermes were the parents of Pan) was about eight hundred years before me, and thus of a later date than the Trojan war.

146. With regard to these two, Pan and Dionysus, a man may follow whatsoever story he deems most credible; but I here declare my own opinion concerning them:—Had Dionysus son of Semele and Pan son of Penelope been made manifest in Hellas and lived there to old age, like Heracles the son of Amphitryon, it might have been said that they too (like Heracles) were but men, named after the older Pan and Dionysus, the gods of antiquity; but as it is, the Greek story has it that no sooner was Dionysus born than Zeus sewed him up in his thigh and carried

<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian Khem.

ἤνεικε εἰς Νύσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου ἐοῦσαν ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ, καὶ Πανός γε πέρι οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν ὅκῃ ἐτράπετο γενόμενος. δῆλὰ μοι ὦν γέγονε ὅτι ὕστερον ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τούτων τὰ οὐνόματα ἢ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν· ἀπ' οὗ δὲ ἐπύθοντο χρόνου, ἀπὸ τούτου γενεηλογέουσι αὐτῶν τὴν γένεσιν.

147. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι· ὅσα δὲ οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι ὁμολογέοντες τοῖσι ἄλλοις κατὰ ταύτην τὴν χώραν γενέσθαι, ταῦτ' ἤδη φράσω· προσέσται δέ τι αὐτοῖσι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψιος.

Ἐλευθερωθέντες Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ τὸν ἱεῖα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου βασιλεύσαντα, οὐδένα γὰρ χρόνον οἰοῖ τε ἦσαν ἄνευ βασιλέος διαιτᾶσθαι, ἐστήσαντο δυνώδεκα βασιλέας, δυνώδεκα μοίρας δασάμενοι Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν. οὗτοι ἐπιγαμίας ποιησάμενοι ἐβασίλευον νόμοις τοῖσιδε χγεώμενοι, μήτε καταίρειν ἀλλήλους μήτε πλέον τι δίζησθαι ἔχειν τὸν ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου, εἶναί τε φίλους τὰ μάλιστα. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα τοὺς νόμους τούτους ἐποίεοντο, ἰσχυρῶς περιστέλλοντες· ἐκέχρηστό σφι κατ' ἀρχὰς αὐτίκα ἐνισταμένοις ἐς τὰς τυραννίδας τὸν χαλκὴν φιάλη σπείσαντα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τούτον ἀπάσης βασιλεύσειν Αἰγύπτου· ἐς γὰρ δὴ τὰ πάντα ἱρὰ συνελέγοντο.

148. Καὶ δὴ σφι μνημόσυνα ἔδοξε λιπέσθαι κοινῇ, δόξαν δέ σφι ἐποίησαντο λαβύρινθον, ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος κατὰ Κροκοδείλων καλεομένην πόλιν μάλιστά κη κείμενον· τὸν ἐγὼ ἤδη εἶδον λόγου μέζω. εἰ γὰρ τις τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τείχεά τε καὶ ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν συλλογίσαιτο,

him away to Nysa in Ethiopia beyond Egypt; and as for Pan, the Greeks know not what became of him after his birth. It is therefore plain to me that the Greeks learnt the names of these two gods later than the names of all the others, and trace the birth of both to the time when they gained the knowledge.

147. Thus far I have recorded what the Egyptians themselves say. I will now relate what is recorded alike by Egyptians and foreigners to have happened in that land, and I will add thereto something of what I myself have seen.

After the reign of the priest of Hephaestus the Egyptians were made free. But they could never live without a king, so they divided Egypt into twelve portions and set up twelve kings. These kings intermarried, and agreed to be close friends, undertaking not to depose one another nor to seek to possess one more than another. The reason of this agreement, which they zealously guarded, was this: at their very first establishment in their several lordships an oracle was given them that that one of them who poured a libation from a bronze vessel in the temple of Hephaestus (where, as in all the temples, it was their wont to assemble) should be king of all Egypt.

148. Moreover they resolved to preserve the memory of their names by some joint enterprise; and having so resolved they made a labyrinth,<sup>1</sup> a little way beyond the lake Moeris and near the place called the City of Crocodiles. I have myself seen it, and indeed no words can tell its wonders;<sup>2</sup> were all that Greeks have builded and wrought added together

<sup>1</sup> This "labyrinth" was a horseshoe-shaped group of buildings, supposed to have been near the pyramid of Hawâra (Sayce). <sup>2</sup> I take ἡ δὲ αἰὶς = ἡ δὲ αἰὶς, with λόγου μέγεθος.

ελάσσοнос πόνου τε ἂν καὶ δαπάνης φανείη ἔοντα τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τούτου. καίτοι ἀξιόλογός γε καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐστὶ νηὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν Σάμῳ. ἦσαν μὲν νυν καὶ αἱ πυραμίδες λόγου μέζονες, καὶ πολλῶν ἐκάστη αὐτέων. Ἑλληνικῶν ἔργων καὶ μεγάλων ἀνταξίη, ὁ δὲ δὴ λαβύρινθος καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας ὑπερβάλλει. τοῦ [γὰρ]<sup>1</sup> δυνώδεκα μὲν εἰσὶ αὐλαὶ κατὰστεγοι, ἀντίπυλοι ἀλλήλησι, ἕξ μὲν πρὸς βορέῳ ἕξ δὲ πρὸς νότον τετραμμέναι, συνεχέες τοίχος δὲ ἕξωθεν ὁ αὐτὸς σφεας περιέρχει. οἰκήματα δ' ἐνέστι διπλᾶ, τὰ μὲν ὑπόγαια τὰ δὲ μετέωρα ἐπ' ἐκείνοισι, τρισχίλια ἀριθμόν, πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἐκάτερα. τὰ μὲν νυν μετέωρα τῶν οἰκημάτων αὐτοὶ τε ὠρῶμεν διεξιόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ θεησάμενοι λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπόγαια λόγοισι ἐπυνθανόμεθα· οἱ γὰρ ἐπεστέωτες τῶν Αἰγυπτίων δεικνύναι αὐτὰ οὐδαμῶς ἠθελον, φάμενοι θήκας αὐτόθι εἶναι τῶν τε ἀρχὴν τὸν λαβύρινθον τούτον οἰκοδομησαμένων βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν κροκοδείλων. οὕτω τῶν μὲν κάτω περὶ οἰκημάτων ἀκοῇ παραλαβόντες λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ ἄνω μέζονα ἀνθρωπίνων ἔργων αὐτοὶ ὠρῶμεν· αἱ γὰρ διέξοδοι διὰ τῶν στεγέων καὶ οἱ ἐλιγμοὶ διὰ τῶν αὐλέων ἔοντες ποικιλώτατοι θῶμα μυρίον παρείχοντο ἕξ αὐλῆς τε ἐς τὰ οἰκήματα διεξιούσι καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐς παστάδας, ἐς στέγας τε ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν παστάδων καὶ ἐς αὐλὰς ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων. ὁροφὴ δὲ πάντων τούτων λιθίνη κατὰ περ οἱ τοῖχοι, οἱ δὲ τοῖχοι τύπων ἐγγεγλυμμένων πλέοι,

<sup>1</sup> γὰρ is bracketed, τοῦ as a relative being in accordance with Herodotus' practice.



the whole would be seen to be a matter of less labour and cost than was this labyrinth, albeit the temples at Ephesus and Samos are noteworthy buildings. Though the pyramids were greater than words can tell, and each one of them a match for many great monuments built by Greeks, this maze surpasses even the pyramids. It has twelve roofed courts, with doors over against each other: six face the north and six the south, in two continuous lines, all within one outer wall. There are also double sets of chambers, three thousand altogether, fifteen hundred above and the same number under ground. We ourselves viewed those that are above ground, and speak of what we have seen; of the underground chambers we were only told; the Egyptian wardens would by no means show them, these being, they said, the burial vaults of the kings who first built this labyrinth, and of the sacred crocodiles. Thus we can only speak from hearsay of the lower chambers; the upper we saw for ourselves, and they are creations greater than human. The outlets of the chambers and the mazy passages hither and thither through the courts were an unending marvel to us as we passed from court to apartment and from apartment to colonnade, from colonnades again to more chambers and then into yet more courts. Over all this is a roof, made of stone like the walls, and the walls are covered with carven figures, and every

αὐλὴ δὲ ἐκάστη περίστυλος λίθου λευκοῦ ἄρμωσ-  
μένου τὰ μάλιστα. τῆς δὲ γωνίης τελευτῶντος  
τοῦ λαβυρίνθου ἔχεται πυραμὶς τεσσαερακοντόρ-  
γυιος, ἐν τῇ ζῶα μεγάλα ἐγγέγλυπται· ὁδὸς δ' ἐς  
αὐτὴν ὑπὸ γῆν πεποιήται.

149. Τοῦ δὲ λαβυρίνθου τούτου ἔοντος τοιούτου  
θῶμα ἔτι μέζον παρέχεται ἡ Μοίριος καλεσμένη  
λίμνη, παρ' ἣν ὁ λαβύρινθος οὗτος οἰκοδόμη-  
ται· τῆς τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περιόδου εἰςὶ στάδιοι  
ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἐξήκοντα ἔον-  
των, ἴσοι καὶ αὐτῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν.  
κεῖται δὲ μακρὴ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς βορέην τε καὶ νότον,  
ἐοῦσα βάθος, τῇ βαθυτάτῃ αὐτῇ ἐωυτῆς, πεντη-  
κοντόργυιος. ὅτι δὲ χειροποιήτος ἐστὶ καὶ ὀρυκτὴ,  
αὐτὴ δηλοῖ· ἐν γὰρ μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ μάλιστα κη  
ἐστᾶσι δύο πυραμίδες, τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπερέχουσαι  
πεντήκοντα ὀργυιάς ἑκατέρῃ, καὶ τὸ κατ' ὕδατος  
οἰκοδόμηται ἕτερον τοσοῦτον, καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρῃσι  
ἔπεστι κολοσσὸς λίθινος κατήμενος ἐν θρόνῳ.  
οὕτω αἱ μὲν πυραμίδες εἰςὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων, αἱ δ'  
ἑκατὸν ὀργυιαὶ δίκαιαι εἰςὶ στάδιον ἑξάπλεθρον,  
ἑξαπέδου τε τῆς ὀργυιῆς μετρεομένης καὶ τετρα-  
πήχεος, τῶν ποδῶν μὲν τετραπαλαίστων ἔόντων,  
τοῦ δὲ πήχεος ἑξαπαλαίστου. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν  
τῇ λίμνῃ αὐθιγενὲς μὲν οὐκ ἔστι (ἄνυδρος γὰρ  
δὴ δεινῶς ἐστὶ ἡ ταύτη), ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου δὲ κατὰ  
διώρυχα ἐσῆκται, καὶ ἕξ μὲν μῆνας ἔσω ῥέει ἐς  
τὴν λίμνην, ἕξ δὲ μῆνας ἔξω ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον αὐτὶς·  
καὶ ἐπεὰν μὲν ἐκρέῃ ἔξω, ἡ δὲ τότε τοὺς ἕξ μῆνας  
ἐς τὸ βασιλῆιον καταβάλλει ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἐκάστην  
τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐσίῃ  
τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτήν, εἴκοσι μνέας.

court is set round with pillars of white stone most exactly fitted together. Hard by the corner where the labyrinth ends there stands a pyramid forty fathoms high, whereon great figures are carved. A passage has been made into this underground.

149. Such is this labyrinth; and yet more marvellous is the lake Moeris, by which it stands. This lake has a circuit of three thousand six hundred furlongs, or sixty schoeni, which is as much as the whole seaboard of Egypt. Its length is from north to south; the deepest part has a depth of fifty fathoms. That it has been dug out and made by men's hands the lake shows for itself; for almost in the middle of it stand two pyramids, so built that fifty fathoms of each are below and fifty above the water; atop of each is a colossal stone figure seated on a throne. Thus these pyramids are a hundred fathoms high; and a hundred fathoms equal a furlong of six hundred feet, the fathom measuring six feet or four cubits, the foot four spans and the cubit six spans. The water of the lake is not natural (for the country here is exceeding waterless) but brought by a channel from the Nile; six months it flows into the lake, and six back into the river. For the six months that it flows from the lake, the daily take of fish brings a silver talent into the royal treasury, and twenty minae for each day of the flow into the lake.

150. Ἐλεγον δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ὥς ἐς τὴν Σύρτιν τὴν ἐς Λιβύην ἐκδιδῶι ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὑπὸ γῆν, τετραμμένη τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος. ἐπεῖτε δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος τούτου οὐκ ὥρων τὸν χοῦν οὐδαμοῦ ἔοντα, ἐπιμελὲς γὰρ δὴ μοι ἦν, εἰρόμην τοὺς ἀγγιστα οἰκέοντας τῆς λίμνης ὅκου εἶη ὁ χοῦς ὁ ἐξορυχθείς. οἱ δὲ ἔφρασαν μοι ἵνα ἐξεφορήθῃ, καὶ εὐπετέως ἐπειθον· ἦδεα γὰρ λόγῳ καὶ ἐν Νίνῳ τῇ Ἀσσυρίῳ πόλι γενόμενον ἕτερον τοιοῦτον. τὰ γὰρ Σαρδαναπάλλου τοῦ Νίνου βασιλέος ἔοντα μεγάλα χρήματα καὶ φυλασσόμενα ἐν θησαυροῖσι καταγαίοισι ἐπενόησαν κλῶπες ἐκφορῆσαι. ἐκ δὴ ὧν τῶν σφετέρων οἰκίων ἀρξάμενοι οἱ κλῶπες ὑπὸ γῆν σταθμεύοντες ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα οἰκία ὠρυσσον, τὸν δὲ χοῦν τὸν ἐκφορεόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος, ὅπως γένοιτο νύξ, ἐς τὸν Τίγρην ποταμὸν παραρρέοντα τὴν Νίνον ἐξεφόρεον, ἐς ὃ κατεργάσαντο ὃ τι ἐβούλοντο. τοιοῦτον ἕτερον ἤκουσα καὶ κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λίμνης ὀρυγμα γενέσθαι, πλὴν οὐ νυκτὸς ἀλλὰ μετ' ἡμέρην ποιούμενον· ὀρύσσοντας γὰρ τὸν χοῦν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον φορέειν· ὃ δὲ ὑπολαμβάνων ἐμελλε διαχέειν. ἡ μὲν νυν λίμνη αὕτη οὕτω λέγεται ὀρυχθῆναι.

151. Τῶν δὲ δυνάδεκα βασιλέων δικαιοσύνη χρεωμένων, ἀνὰ χρόνον ὥς ἔθυσαν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῇ ὑστάτῃ τῆς ὀρτῆς, μελλόντων κατασπεύσειν, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐξήνεικέ σφι φιάλας χρυσέας, τῇσί περ ἐώθεσαν σπένδειν, ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, ἔνδεκα δυνάδεκα εἶναι. ἐνθαῦτα ὥς οὐκ εἶχε φιάλην ὁ ἑσχατος ἐστεῶς αὐτῶν Ψαμ-



150. Further, the people of the country said that this lake issues by an underground stream into the Libyan Syrtis, and stretches inland towards the west along the mountains that are above Memphis. I could not anywhere see the earth taken from the digging of this lake, and this giving me matter for thought, I asked those who dwelt nearest to the lake where the stuff was that had been dug out. They told me whither it had been carried, and I readily believed them, for I had heard of a like thing happening in the Assyrian city of Ninus. Sardana-pallus king of Ninus had great wealth, which he kept in an underground treasury. Certain thieves were minded to carry it off; they reckoned their course and dug an underground way from their own house to the palace, carrying the earth taken out of the dug passage at night to the Tigris, which runs past Ninus, till at length they accomplished their desire. This, I was told, had happened when the Egyptian lake was dug, save only that the work went on not by night but by day. The Egyptians bore the earth dug out by them to the Nile, to be caught and scattered (as was to be thought) by the river. Thus is this lake said to have been dug.

151. Now the twelve kings dealt justly; and as time went on they came to sacrifice in Hephaestus' temple. On the last day of the feast, they being about to pour libations, the high priest brought out the golden vessels which they commonly used for this; but he counted wrongly and gave the twelve only eleven. So he who stood last of them, Psam-metichus, got no vessel; wherefore taking off his

μήτιχος, περιελόμενος τὴν κυνέην ἐοῦσαν χαλκήν ὑπέσχε τε καὶ ἔσπενδε. κυνέας δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ἐφόρεόν τε βασιλέες καὶ ἐτύγγανον τότε ἔχοντες. Ψαμμήτιχος μὲν νυν οὐδενὶ δολερῶ νόῳ χρεώμενος ὑπέσχε τὴν κυνέην· οἱ δὲ ἐν φρενὶ λαβόντες τό τε ποιηθὲν ἐκ Ψαμμητίχου καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὅτι ἐκέχρηστό σφι τὸν χαλκήν σπείσαντα αὐτῶν φιάλη τοῦτον βασιλέα ἔσεσθαι μουνον Αἰγύπτου, ἀναμνησθέντες τοῦ χρησμοῦ κτεῖναι μὲν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσαν Ψαμμήτιχον, ὥς ἀνεύρισκον βασανίζοντες ἐξ οὐδεμιῆς προνοίης αὐτὸν ποιήσαντα, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἔλεα ἔδοξέ σφι διώξαι ψιλώσαντας τὰ πλείστα τῆς δυνάμιος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐλέων ὀρμώμενον μὴ ἐπιμίσησθαι τῇ ἄλλῃ Αἰγύπτῳ.

152. Τὸν δὲ Ψαμμήτιχον τοῦτον πρότερον φεύγοντα τὸν Αἰθίοπα Σαβακῶν, ὃς οἱ τὸν πατέρα Νεκῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοῦτον φεύγοντα τότε ἐς Συρίην, ὥς ἀπαλλάχθη ἐκ τῆς ὄψιος τοῦ ὀνείρου ὁ Αἰθίοψ, κατήγαγον Αἰγυπτίων οὗτοι οἱ ἐκ νομοῦ τοῦ Σαίτεω εἰσί. μετὰ δὲ βασιλεύοντα τὸ δεύτερον πρὸς τῶν ἑνδεκα βασιλέων καταλαμβάνει μιν διὰ τὴν κυνέην φεύγειν ἐς τὰ ἔλεα. ἐπιστάμενος ὦν ὥς περιυβρισμένος εἶη πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπενόεε τίσασθαι τοὺς διώξαντας. πέμψαντι δὲ οἱ ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τῆς Λητοῦς, ἔνθα δὴ Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐστὶ μαντήμιον ἀψευδέστατον, ἦλθε χρησμὸς ὥς τίσις ἦξει ἀπὸ θαλάσσης χαλκέων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανέντων. καὶ τῷ μὲν δὴ ἀπιστίῃ μεγάλη ὑπεκέχυντο χαλκέους οἱ ἄνδρας ἦξειν ἐπικούρους. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἀναγκαίῃ κατέλαβε Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Κᾶρας ἄνδρας κατὰ λήϊν ἐκπλώσαντας ἀπενειχθῆναι ἐς Αἰγύπτον,

bronze helmet he held it out and poured the libation with it. All the other kings too were wont to wear helmets, and were then helmeted; it was not in guile, then, that Psammetichus held out his head-gear; but the rest marked Psammetichus' deed, and remembered the oracle which promised the sovereignty of all Egypt to whosoever should pour libation from a vessel of bronze; wherefore, though they deemed Psammetichus not to deserve death (for they proved him and found that he had acted without intent), they resolved to strip him of the most of his power and chase him away into the marshes, and that he was not to concern himself with the rest of Egypt.

152. This Psammetichus had formerly been in Syria, whither he had fled from Sabacos the Ethiopian, who killed his father Necos; then, when the Ethiopian departed by reason of what he saw in a dream, the Egyptians of the province of Sais brought him back from Syria; and now Psammetichus was for the second time king, when it happened to him to be driven away into the marshes by the eleven kings by reason of the matter of the helmet. Therefore he held himself to have been outrageously dealt with by them and had a mind to be avenged on those who had expelled him, and he sent to inquire of the oracle of Leto in the town of Buto, which is the most infallible in Egypt; the oracle answered that he should have vengeance when he saw men of bronze coming from the sea. Psammetichus secretly disbelieved that men of bronze would come to aid him. But after no long time, certain Ionians and Carians, voyaging for plunder, were forced to put in on the coast of Egypt, where they disembarked in

ἐκβάντας δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ὀπλισθέντας χαλκῷ ἀγγέλλει τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὰ ἔλεα ἀπικόμενος τῷ Ψαμμήτιχῳ, ὥς οὐκ ἰδὼν πρότερον χαλκῷ ἄνδρας ὀπλισθέντας, ὥς χάλκεοι ἄνδρες ἀπυγμένοι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεηλατεῦσι τὸ πεδῖον. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὸ χρηστήριον ἐπιτελεύμενον φίλα τε τοῖσι Ἴωσι καὶ Καρσί ποιέεται καὶ σφεας μεγάλα ὑπισχνέμενος πείθει μετ' ἐωυτοῦ γενέσθαι. ὥς δὲ ἔπεισε, οὕτω ἅμα τοῖσι τὰ ἐωυτοῦ βουλομένοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπικούροις καταίρει τοὺς βασιλέας.

153. Κρατήσας δὲ Αἰγύπτου πάσης ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐποίησε τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια ἐν Μέμφι τὰ πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένα, αὐλὴν τε τῷ Ἄπι, ἐν τῇ τρέφεται ἐπεὰν φανῇ ὁ Ἄπις, οἰκοδόμησε ἐναντίον τῶν προπυλαίων, πᾶσάν τε περίστυλον ἐοῦσαν καὶ τύπων πλέην· ἀντὶ δὲ κιόνων ὑπεστᾶσι κολοσσοὶ δυωδεκαπῆχες τῇ αὐλῇ. ὁ δὲ Ἄπις κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν ἐστὶ Ἐπαφος.

154. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Καρσί τοῖσι συγκατεργασαμένοισι αὐτῷ ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος δίδωσι χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι ἀντίους ἀλλήλων, τοῦ Νείλου τὸ μέσον ἔχοντος, τοῖσι οὐνόματα ἐτέθη Στρατόπεδα· τούτους τε δὴ σφί τοὺς χώρους δίδωσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ὑπέσχετο πάντα ἀπέδωκε. καὶ δὴ καὶ παῖδας παρέβαλε αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίους τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐκμαθόντων τὴν γλῶσσαν οἱ νῦν ἐρμηνέες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεγόνασι. οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες τε καὶ οἱ Κᾶρες τούτους τοὺς χώρους οἴκησαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν· εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι οἱ χῶροι πρὸς θαλάσσης ὀλίγον ἔνερθε Βουβάστιος πόλιος, ἐπὶ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ



their mail of bronze; and an Egyptian came into the marsh country and brought news to Psammetichus (for he had never before seen mailed men) that men of bronze were come from the sea and were foraging in the plain. Psammetichus saw in this the fulfilment of the oracle; he made friends with the Ionians and Carians, and promised them great rewards if they would join him, and having won them, with the aid of such Egyptians as consented and these allies he deposed the eleven kings.

153. Having made himself master of all Egypt, he made the southern outercourt of Hephaestus' temple at Memphis, and built over against this a court for Apis, where Apis is kept and fed whenever he appears; this court has an inner colonnade all round it and many carved figures; the roof is held up by great statues twelve cubits high for pillars. Apis is in the Greek language Epaphus.

154. The Ionians and Carians who had helped him to conquer were given by Psammetichus places to dwell in called The Camps, opposite to each other on either side of the Nile; and besides this he paid them all that he had promised. Moreover he put Egyptian boys in their hands to be taught the Greek tongue; these, learning Greek, were the ancestors of the Egyptian interpreters. The Ionians and Carians dwelt a long time in these places, which are near the sea, on the arm of the Nile called the Pelusian, a little way below the town of Bubastis.

καλεομένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου. τούτους μὲν δὴ χρόνῳ ὕστερον βασιλεὺς Ἀμασις ἐξαναστήσας ἐνθεύτεν κατοίκησε ἐς Μέμφιν, φυλακὴν ἐωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων. τούτων δὲ οἰκισθέντων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἐπιμισγόμενοι τούτοισι τὰ περὶ Αἰγυπτον γινόμενα ἀπὸ Ψαμμήτιχου βασιλέως ἀρξάμενοι πάντα καὶ τὰ ὕστερον ἐπιστάμεθα ἀτρεκέως· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὔτοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικήσθησαν. ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἐξανέστησαν χώρων, ἐν τούτοισι δὲ οἳ τε ὀλκοὶ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια τῶν οἰκημάτων τὸ μέχρι ἐρεῦ ἦσαν.

155. Ψαμμήτιχος μὲν νυν οὕτω ἔσχε Αἰγυπτον. τοῦ δὲ χρηστήριου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ ἐπεμνήσθην ἤδη, καὶ δὴ λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀξίου εἶντος ποιήσομαι. τὸ γὰρ χρηστήριον τοῦτο τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐστὶ μὲν Λητοῦς ἱρόν, ἐν πόλει δὲ μεγάλη ἰδρυμένον κατὰ τὸ Σεβεννυτικὸν καλεόμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου, ἀναπλέοντι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω. οὖνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ὅκου τὸ χρηστήριον ἐστὶ Βουτώ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ὠνόμασταί μοι. ἱρόν δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Βουτοῖ ταύτῃ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ὁ γε νηὸς τῆς Λητοῦς, ἐν τῇ δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐνι, αὐτὸς τε τυγχάνει ἐὼν μέγας καὶ τὰ προπύλαια ἔχει ἐς ὕψος δέκα ὀργυιέων. τὸ δὲ μοι τῶν φανερῶν ἦν θῶμα μέγιστον παρεχόμενον, φράσω· ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ τεμένει τούτῳ Λητοῦς νηὸς ἐξ ἐνὸς λίθου πεποιημένος ἔς τε ὕψος καὶ ἐς μῆκος καὶ τοῖχος ἕκαστος τούτοισι ἴσος τεσσαράκοντα πηχέων τούτων ἕκαστον ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ καταστέγασμα τῆς ὀροφῆς ἄλλος ἐπὶ κείται λίθος, ἔχων τὴν παρωροφίδα τετράπηχυν.

Long afterwards, king Amasis removed them thence and settled them at Memphis, to be his guard against the Egyptians. It comes of our intercourse with these settlers in Egypt (who were the first men of alien speech to settle in that country) that we Greeks have exact knowledge of the history of Egypt from the reign of Psammetichus onwards. There still remained till my time, in the places whence the Ionians and Carians were removed, the landing engines<sup>1</sup> of their ships and the ruins of their houses.

155. This is the story of Psammetichus' conquest of Egypt. I have often made mention of the Egyptian oracle, and I will now treat fully of it, for this it deserves. This Egyptian oracle is in a temple sacred to Leto, and is situated in a great city by the Sebennyitic arm of the Nile, on the way up from the sea. The name of the city where is this oracle is Buto; I have already named it. In Buto there is a temple of Apollo and Artemis. The shrine of Leto in which is the oracle is itself very great, and its outer court is ten fathoms high. But I will now tell of what was the most marvellous among things visible there: in this precinct is the shrine of Leto, whereof the height and length of the walls is all made of a single stone slab; each wall has an equal length and height, namely, forty cubits. Another slab makes the surface of the roof, the cornice of which is four cubits broad.

<sup>1</sup> Probably capetans for hauling the ships ashore.

## HERODOTUS

156. Οὕτω μὲν νυν ὁ νηὸς τῶν φανερώων μοι τῶν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν ἐστὶ θωμάστοτατον, τῶν δὲ δευτέρων νήσος ἡ Χέμμης καλεμένη· ἐστὶ μὲν ἐν λίμνῃ βαθύῃ καὶ πλατῇ κειμένη παρὰ τὸ ἐν Βουτοῖ ἱρὸν, λέγεται δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι αὕτη ἡ νήσος πλωτή. αὐτὸς μὲν ἔγωγε οὔτε πλέουσιν οὔτε κινηθεῖσαν εἶδον, τέθηπα δὲ ἀκούων εἰ νήσος ἀληθῆως ἐστὶ πλωτή. ἐν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ νηὸς τε Ἀπόλλωνος μέγας ἐνὶ καὶ βωμοὶ τριφάσιοι ἐνιδρύονται, ἐμπεφύκασιν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ φοίνικες συχνοὶ καὶ ἄλλα δένδρεα καὶ καρποφόρα καὶ ἄφωρα πολλὰ. λόγον δὲ τόνδε ἐπιλέγοντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ εἶναι αὐτὴν πλωτήν, ὥς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ οὐκ εἴσῃ πρότερον πλωτῇ Λητώ, εἴσῃσα τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν τῶν πρώτων γενομένων, οἰκέουσα δὲ ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλιν, ἵνα δὴ οἱ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῦτο ἐστί, Ἀπόλλωνα παρ' Ἴσιος παρακαταθήκην δεξαμένη διέσωσε κατὰκρύψασα ἐν τῇ νῦν πλωτῇ λεγομένῃ νήσῳ, ὅτε τὸ πᾶν διζήμενος ὁ Τυφὼν ἐπῆλθε, θέλων ἐξευρεῖν τοῦ Ὀσίριος τὸν παῖδα. Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ καὶ Ἀρτεμιν Διονύσου καὶ Ἴσιος λέγουσι εἶναι παῖδας, Λητοῦν δὲ τροφὸν αὐτοῖσι καὶ σώτειραν γενέσθαι. Αἰγυπτιστὶ δὲ Ἀπόλλων μὲν Ὀρος, Δημήτηρ δὲ Ἴσις, Ἀρτεμις δὲ Βούβαστις. ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου Αἰσχύλος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἤρπασε τὸ ἐγὼ φράσω, μῦθος δὲ ποιητῶν τῶν προγενομένων· ἐποίησε γὰρ Ἀρτεμιν εἶναι θυγατέρα Δήμητρος. τὴν δὲ νήσον διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι πλωτήν. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι.

157. Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου τέσσερα καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, τῶν τὰ ἐνὸς δέοντα



156. Thus then the shrine is the most marvellous of all things that I saw in this temple; but of things of lesser note, the most wondrous is the island called Chemmis. This lies in a deep and wide lake near to the temple at Buto, and the Egyptians say that it floats. For myself I never saw it float, nor move at all, and I thought it a marvellous tale, that an island should truly float. However that be, there is a great shrine of Apollo thereon, and three altars stand there; many palm trees grow in the island, and other trees too, some yielding fruit and some not. The story told by the Egyptians to show why the island moves is this: when Typhon came seeking through the world for the son of Osiris, Leto, being one of the eight earliest gods, and dwelling in Buto where this oracle of hers is, received Apollo in charge from Isis and hid him for safety in this island which was before immovable but is now said to float. Apollo and Artemis were (they say) children of Dionysus and Isis, and Leto was made their nurse and preserver; in Egyptian, Apollo is Horus, Demeter Isis, Artemis Bubastis. It was from this and no other legend that Aeschylus son of Euphorion stole an imagination, which is in no other poet, that Artemis was the daughter of Demeter. For the aforesaid reason (say the Egyptians) the island was made to float. Such is the tale.

157. Psammetichus ruled Egypt for fifty-four years; for twenty-nine of these he sat before Azotus,

τριήκοντα ἄζωτον τῆς Συρίας μεγάλην πόλιν προσκατήμενος ἐπολιόρκεε, ἐς δ' ἐξεῖλε. αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἄζωτος ἀπασέων πόλιν ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον πολιορκεομένη ἀντέσχε τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

158. Ψαμμητίχου δὲ Νεκῶς παῖς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Αἴγυπτου, ὃς τῇ διώρυχι ἐπεχείρησε πρῶτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν φερούσῃ, τὴν Δαρείος ὁ Πέρσης δευτέρα διώρυξε· τῆς μήκος ἐστὶ πλόος ἡμέραι τέσσερες, εὖρος δὲ ὠρύχθη ὥστε τριήρεας δύο πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρευμένας. ἡκται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν· ἡκται δὲ κατύπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβάστιος πόλις παρὰ Πάτουμον τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. ὁρώρεται δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου τὰ πρὸς Ἀραβίην ἔχοντα· ἔχεται δὲ κατύπερθε τοῦ πεδίου τὸ κατὰ Μέμφιν τείνον ὄρος, ἐν τῷ αἱ λιθοτομίαι ἐνεῖσι· τοῦ ὧν δὴ ὄρεος τούτου παρὰ τὴν ὑπώρεν ἡκται ἡ διώρυξ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης μακρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ, καὶ ἔπειτα τείνει ἐς διασφάγας, φέρουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρεος πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον. τῇ δὲ ἐλάχιστον ἐστὶ καὶ συντομώτατον ἐκ τῆς βορηῆς θαλάσσης ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν νοτὴν καὶ Ἐρυθρὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην καλεομένην, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου ὄρεος τοῦ οὐρίζοντος Αἴγυπτον τε καὶ Συρίην, ἀπὸ τούτου εἰςὶ στάδιοι ἀπαρτὶ χίλιοι ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ συντομώτατον, ἡ δὲ διώρυξ πολλὰ μακροτέρη, ὅσῳ σκολιωτέρη ἐστί· τὴν ἐπὶ Νεκῶ βασιλέος ὀρύσσοντες Αἰγυπτίων ἀπώλοντο δυνάδεκα μυριάδες. Νεκῶς μὲν νυν μεταξὺ ὀρύσσων ἐπαύσατο μανθίου ἐμποδίου γενομένου τοιοῦδε.

a great city in Syria, and besieged it till he took it. Azotus held out against a siege longer than any city of which I have heard.

158. Psammetichus had a son Necos, who became king of Egypt. It was he who began the making of the canal into the Red Sea,<sup>1</sup> which was finished by Darius the Persian. This is four days' voyage in length, and it was dug wide enough for two triremes to move in it rowed abreast. It is fed by the Nile, and is carried from a little above Bubastis by the Arabian town of Patumus; it issues into the Red Sea. The beginning of the digging was in the part of the Egyptian plain which is nearest to Arabia; the mountains that extend to Memphis (in which mountains are the stone quarries) come close to this plain; the canal is led along the lower slope of these mountains in a long reach from west to east; passing then into a ravine it bears southward out of the hill country towards the Arabian Gulf. Now the shortest and most direct passage from the northern to the southern or Red Sea is from the Casian promontory, which is the boundary between Egypt and Syria, to the Arabian Gulf, and this is a distance of one thousand furlongs, neither more nor less; this is the most direct way, but the canal is by much longer, inasmuch as it is more crooked. In Necos' reign a hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians perished in the digging of it. During the course of excavations, Necos ceased from the work, being stayed by a prophetic

<sup>1</sup> This canal ran from near Tel Basta (Bubastis) apparently to Suez. Inscriptions recording Darius' construction of it have been found in the neighbourhood.

τῷ βαρβάρῳ αὐτὸν προεργάζεσθαι. βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τοὺς μὴ σφίσι ὁμογλώσσους.

159. Πausάμενος δὲ τῆς διώρυχος ὁ Νεκῶς ἐτράπετο πρὸς στρατηίας, καὶ τριήρεις αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ βορρῇ θαλάσῃ ἐποιήθησαν, αἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ, τῶν ἔτι οἱ ὅλκοι ἐπίδηλοι. καὶ ταύτησί τε ἐχράτο ἐν τῷ δέοντι καὶ Σύροισι πεζῇ ὁ Νεκῶς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδῶλῳ ἐνίκησε, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδυτιν πόλιν τῆς Συρίας εὐῶσαν μεγάλην εἶλε. ἐν τῇ δὲ ἐσθῇτι ἔτυχε ταῦτα κατεργασάμενος, ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι πέμψας ἐς Βραγχίδας τὰς Μιλησίων. μετὰ δέ, ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτεα τὰ πάντα ἄρξας, τελευτᾷ, τῷ παιδί Ψάμμι παραδούς τὴν ἀρχήν.

160. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ψάμμιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου ἀπίκοντο Ἡλείων ἄγγελοι, αὐχέοντες δικαιοτάτα καὶ κάλλιστα τιθέναι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δοκέοντες παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδ' ἂν τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους οὐδὲν ἐπεξευρεῖν· ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ Ἡλείοι ἔλεγον τῶν εἵνεκα ἀπίκοντο, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος συγκαλέεται Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς λεγομένους εἶναι σοφωτάτους. συνελθόντες δὲ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐπυνθάνοντο τῶν Ἡλείων λεγόντων ἅπαντα τὰ κστήκει σφέας ποιεῖν περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· ἀπηγησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα ἔφασαν ἥκειν ἐπιμαθησόμενοι εἴ τι ἔχοιεν Αἰγύπτιοι τούτων δικαιοτέρον ἐπεξευρεῖν. οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι ἐπειρώτων τοὺς Ἡλείους εἴ σφι οἱ πολιῆται ἐναγωνίζονται. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν καὶ σφέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐξεῖναι



utterance that he was toiling beforehand for the barbarian. The Egyptians call all men of other languages barbarians.

159. Necos then ceased from making the canal and engaged rather in warlike preparation; some of his ships of war were built on the northern sea, and some in the Arabian Gulf, by the Red Sea coast: the landing-engines of these are still to be seen. He used these ships at need, and with his land army met and defeated the Syrians at Magdolus,<sup>1</sup> taking the great Syrian city of Cadytis<sup>2</sup> after the battle. He sent to Branchidae of Miletus and dedicated there to Apollo the garments in which he won these victories. Presently he died after a reign of sixteen years, and his son Psammis reigned in his stead.

160. While this Psammis was king of Egypt he was visited by ambassadors from Elis, the Eleans boasting that they had ordered the Olympic games with all the justice and fairness in the world, and claiming that even the Egyptians, albeit the wisest of all men, could not better it. When the Eleans came to Egypt and told the purpose of their coming, Psammis summoned an assembly of those who were said to be the wisest men in Egypt. These assembled, and inquired of the Eleans, who told them of the rules of the games which they must obey, and, having declared these, said they had come that if the Egyptians could invent any juster way they might learn this too. The Egyptians consulted together, and then asked the Eleans if their own townsmen took part in the contests. The Eleans answered that this was so: all Greeks from Elis or elsewhere

<sup>1</sup> Magdolus appears to be the Migdol of O.T.

<sup>2</sup> Gaza.

ἀγωνίζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασαν σφέας οὕτω τιθέντας παντὸς τοῦ δικαίου ἡμαρτηκέναι. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ εἶναι μηχανὴν ὅπως οὐ τῷ ἀσφῶ ἀγωνιζομένῳ προσθήσονται, ἀδικέοντες τὸν ξεῖνον. ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ βούλονται δικαίως τιθέναι καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα ἀπικοίατο ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ξείνοισι ἀγωνιστήσι ἐκέλευον τὸν ἀγῶνα τιθέναι, Ἡλείων δὲ μηδενὶ εἶναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι Ἡλείοισι ὑπεθήκαντο.

161. Ψάμμιος δὲ ἔξ ἔτεα μόνον βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου καὶ στρατευσάμενου ἐς Αἰθιοπίην καὶ μεταυτίκα τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Ἀπρίης ὁ Ψάμμιος· ὃς μετὰ Ψαμμήτιχον τὸν ἐωυτοῦ προπάτορα ἐγένετο εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων, ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἄρξας, ἐν τοῖσι ἐπὶ τε Σιδῶνα στρατὸν ἤλασε καὶ ἐναυμάχησε τῷ Τυρίῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔδεε κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγένετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τὴν ἐγὼ μεζόνως μὲν ἐν τοῖσι Λιβυκοῖσι λόγοισι ἀπηγήσομαι, μετρίως δ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ἀποπέμψας γὰρ στρατεύμα ὁ Ἀπρίης ἐπὶ Κυρηναίους μεγαλωστὶ προσέπταισε, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, δοκέοντες τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐκ προνοίης αὐτοὺς ἀποπέμψαι ἐς φαινόμενον κακόν, ἵνα δὴ σφέων φθορὴ γένηται, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀσφαλέστερον ἄρχοι. ταῦτα δὲ δεινὰ ποιούμενοι οὗτοί τε οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων φίλοι ἀπέστησαν ἐκ τῆς ἰθῆης.

162. Πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀπρίης ταῦτα πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἀμασιν καταπαύσοντα λόγοισι. ὃ δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἀπικόμενος κατελάμβανε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους

might contend. Then the Egyptians said that this rule was wholly wide of justice: "For," said they, "it cannot be but that you will favour your own townsmen in the contest and deal unfairly by a stranger. Nay, if you will indeed make just rules and have therefore come to Egypt, you should admit only strangers to the contest, and not Eleans." Such was the counsel of the Egyptians to the Eleans.

161. Psammis reigned over Egypt for six years only; he invaded Ethiopia, and immediately thereafter died, and Apries<sup>1</sup> his son reigned in his stead. He was more fortunate than any former king (save only his great-grandfather Psammetichus) during his rule of twenty-five years, in which he sent an army against Sidon and did battle by sea with the king of Tyre. But when it was fated that ill should befall him, the cause of it was one that I will now deal with briefly, and at greater length in the Libyan part of this history. Apries sent a great host against Cyrene and suffered a great defeat. The Egyptians blamed him for this and rebelled against him; for they thought that Apries had knowingly sent his men to their doom, that by their so perishing he might be the safer in his rule over the rest of the Egyptians. Bitterly angered by this, those who returned home and the friends of the slain openly revolted.

162. Hearing of this, Apries sent Amasis to them to persuade them from their purpose. When Amasis came up with the Egyptians he exhorted them to

<sup>1</sup> Apries is the Hophra of O.T.; he reigned from 589 to 570 B.C., apparently. But the statement that he attacked Tyre and Sidon is inconsistent with Jewish history (Jerem. xxvii., Ezek. xvii.).

ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν, λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ὀπισθε στας περιέθηκέ οἱ κυνέην, καὶ περιτιθεὶς ἔφη ἐπὶ βασιληίῃ περιτιθέναι. καὶ τῷ οὕτως ἀκούσιον ἐγένετο τὸ ποιούμενον, ὥς διεδείκνυε. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἐστήσαντό μιν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἀπεστεῶτες, παρεσκευάζετο ὥς ἐλῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπρίης ἔπεμπε ἐπ' Ἀμασιν ἄνδρα δόκιμον τῶν περὶ ἑωυτὸν Αἰγυπτίων, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Πατάρβημις, ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ζῶντα Ἀμασιν ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἑωυτόν. ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενος τὸν Ἀμασιν ἐκάλεε ὁ Πατάρβημις, ὁ Ἀμασις, ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐπ' ἵππου κατήμενος, ἐπαείρας ἀπεματαίισε, καὶ τοῦτό μιν ἐκέλευε Ἀπρίην ἀπάγειν. ὅμως δὲ αὐτὸν ἀξιούν τὸν Πατάρβημιν βασιλέος μεταπεμπομένου ἵεναι πρὸς αὐτόν· τὸν δὲ αὐτῷ ὑποκρίνεσθαι ὥς ταῦτα πάλαι παρεσκευάζετο ποιεῖν, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐ μέμψεσθαι Ἀπρίην· παρέσεσθαι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἄλλους ἄξειν. τὸν δὲ Πατάρβημιν ἔκ τε τῶν λεγομένων οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον ὁρῶντα σπουδῇ ἀπιέναι, βουλόμενον τὴν ταχίστην βασιλείᾳ δηλῶσαι τὰ πρησσόμενα. ὥς δὲ ἀπικέσθαι αὐτόν πρὸς τὸν Ἀπρίην οὐκ ἄγοντα τὸν Ἀμασιν, οὐδένα λόγον αὐτῷ δόντα ἀλλὰ περιθύμως ἔχοντα περιταμεῖν προστάξαι αὐτοῦ τά τε ὦτα καὶ τὴν ῥίνα. ἰδόμενοι δ' οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, οἱ ἐτι τὰ ἐκείνου ἐφρόνεον, ἄνδρα τὸν δοκιμώτατον ἑωυτῶν οὕτω αἰσχρῶς λύμῃ διακείμενον, οὐδένα δὴ χρόνον ἐπισχόντες ἀπιστέατο πρὸς τοὺς ἐτέρους καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀμάσι.

163. Πυθόμενος δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπρίης ὥπλιζε



desist from what they did; but while he spoke an Egyptian came behind him and put a helmet on his head, saying it was the token of royalty. And Amasis showed that this was not displeasing to him, for being made king by the rebel Egyptians he prepared to march against Apries. When Apries heard of it, he sent against Amasis an esteemed Egyptian named Patarbemis, one of his own court, charging him to take the rebel alive and bring him into his presence. Patarbemis came, and summoned Amasis, who lifted his leg with an unseemly gesture (being then on horseback) and bade the messenger take that token back to Apries. But when Patarbemis was nevertheless instant that Amasis should obey the king's summons and go to him—such is the story—Amasis answered that he had long been making ready to do this, and Apries should be well satisfied with him: "For I will come myself," quoth he, "and bring others with me." Hearing this, Patarbemis could not mistake Amasis' purpose; he saw his preparations and made haste to depart, that he might with all speed make known to the king what was afoot. When Apries saw him return without Amasis he gave him no chance to speak, but in his rage and fury bade cut off Patarbemis' ears and nose. The rest of the Egyptians, who still favoured his cause, seeing the foul despite thus done to the man who was most esteemed among them, changed sides without more ado and delivered themselves over to Amasis.

163. This news too being brought to Apries, he

τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· εἶχε δὲ περὶ ἑωυτὸν Κᾱράς τε καὶ Ἴωνας ἄνδρας ἐπικούρους τρισμυρίους· ἦν δὲ οἱ τὰ βασιλῆα ἐν Σαί πόλει, μεγάλα ἔοντα καὶ ἀξιοθέητα. καὶ οἱ τε περὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἦσαν καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀμασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους· ἐν τε δὴ Μωμέμφι πόλει ἐγένοντο ἀμφοτέροι καὶ πειρήσασθαι ἔμελλον ἀλλήλων.

164. Ἔστι δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἑπτὰ γένεα, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἱεεὶς οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι κεκλέαται, οἱ δὲ βούκολοι οἱ δὲ συβῶται, οἱ δὲ κάπηλοι, οἱ δὲ ἐρμήνεες, οἱ δὲ κυβερνήται. γένεα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων τοσαῦτα ἐστί, οὐνόματα δὲ σφί κέεται ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνέων. οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι αὐτῶν καλέονται μὲν Καλασιρίεις τε καὶ Ἑρμοτύβιες, ἐκ νομῶν δὲ τῶνδε εἰσὶ· κατὰ γὰρ δὴ νομοὺς Αἴγυπτος ἅπαντα διαραίρηται.

165. Ἑρμοτυβίων μὲν οἶδε εἰσὶ νομοί, Βουσιρίτης, Σαίτης, Χερμίτης, Παπρημίτης, νῆσος ἢ Προσωπίτις καλεομένη, Ναθῶ τὸ ἥμισυ. ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν νομῶν Ἑρμοτύβιες εἰσὶ, γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, ἑκατάδεκα μυριάδες. καὶ τούτων βαναυσίης οὐδεὶς δεδάηκε οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀνέωνται ἐς τὸ μάχιμον.

166. Καλασιρίων δὲ οἶδε ἄλλοι νομοί εἰσι, Θηβαῖος, Βουβαστίτης, Ἀφθίτης, Τανίτης, Μενδήσιος, Σεβεννύτης, Ἀθριβίτης, Φαρβαιθίτης, Θμουίτης, Ὀνουφίτης, Ἀνύτιος, Μνεκφορίτης· οὗτος ὁ νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ οἰκείει ἀντίον Βουβάστιος πόλιος. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ νομοὶ Καλασιρίων εἰσὶ, γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν. οὐδὲ τούτοις ἐξεστι

armed his guard and marched against the Egyptians; he had a bodyguard of Carians and Ionians, thirty thousand of them, and his royal dwelling was in the city of Sais, a great and marvellous palace. Apries' men marched against the Egyptians, and so did Amasis' men against the strangers; so they came both to Momemphis, where it was their purpose to prove each other's quality.

164. The Egyptians are divided into seven classes, severally entitled priests, warriors, cowherds, swineherds, hucksters, interpreters, and pilots. So many classes there are, each named after its vocation. The warriors are divided into Kalasiries and Hermotubies, and they belong to the following provinces (for all divisions in Egypt are made according to provinces).

165. The Hermotubies are of the provinces of Busiris, Sais, Chemmis, and Papremis, the island called Prosopitis, and half of Natho—all of these; their number, at its greatest, attained to a hundred and sixty thousand. None of these has learnt any common trade; they are free to follow arms alone.

166. The Kalasiries for their part are of the provinces of Thebes, Bubastis, Aphthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennys, Athribis, Pharbaithis, \*Thmuis, Onuphis, Anytis, Myecphoris (this last is in an island over against the city of Bubastis)—all these; their number, at its greatest, attained to two hundred and fifty thousand men. These too may practise

τέχνην ἐπασκῆσαι οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐπασκέουσιν μούνα, παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεκόμενος.

167. Εἰ μὲν νυν καὶ τοῦτο παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως κρίναι, ὀρέων καὶ Θρήικας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Λυδοὺς καὶ σχεδὸν πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀποτιμωτέρους τῶν ἄλλων ἡγημένους πολιητέων τοὺς τὰς τέχνας μαυθάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόρους τούτων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλλαγμένους τῶν χειρωναξιῶν γενναίους νομιζομένους εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνειμένους· μεμαθήκασιν δ' ὧν τοῦτο πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ μάλιστα Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἥκιστα δὲ Κορίνθιοι ὄνονται τοὺς χειροτέχνας.

168. Γέρεα δὲ σφί ἦν τάδε ἐξαιρεημένα μούνοισι Αἰγυπτίων πάρεξ τῶν ἱρέων, ἄρourke ἐξαίρετοι δυνώδεκα ἐκάστῳ ἀτελέες. ἡ δὲ ἄρουρα ἑκατὸν πηχέων ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίων πάντῃ, ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος πῆχυς τυγχάνει ἴσος ἐὼν τῷ Σαμίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασιν ἦν ἐξαιρεημένα, τάδε δὲ ἐν περιτροπῇ ἐκαρποῦντο καὶ οὐδαμὰ ὠυτοί. Καλασιρίων χίλιοι καὶ Ἑρμοτυβίων ἐδορυφόρεον ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστοι τὸν βασιλέα· τούτοιςιν ὧν τάδε πάρεξ τῶν ἀρουρέων ἄλλα ἐδίδδοτο ἐπ' ἡμέρη ἐκάστη, ὀπτοῦ σίτου σταθμὸς πέντε μνῆαι ἐκάστῳ, κρεῶν βοέων δύο μνῆαι, οἶνου τέσσερες ἀρυστήρες. ταῦτα τοῖσι αἰεὶ δορυφορέουσι ἐδίδδοτο.

169. Ἐπεῖτε δὲ συνιόντες ὁ τε Ἀπρίης ἄγων τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ὁ Ἀμασις πάντας Αἰγυπτίους ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μώμεφιν πόλιν, συνέβαλον· καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο μὲν εὖ οἱ ξεῖνοι, πλήθει δὲ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονες εἶντες κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσώθησαν. Ἀπρίῳ δὲ



no trade but only war, which is their hereditary calling.

167. Now whether this separation, like other customs, has come to Greece from Egypt, I cannot exactly judge. I know that in Thrace and Scythia and Persia and Lydia and nearly all foreign countries those who learn trades and their descendants are held in less esteem than the rest of the people, and those who have nothing to do with artisans' work, especially men who are free to practise the art of war, are highly honoured. Thus much is certain, that this opinion, which is held by all Greeks and chiefly by the Lacedaemonians, is of foreign origin. It is in Corinth that artisans are held in least contempt.

168. The warriors were the only Egyptians, except the priests, who had special privileges: for each of them there was set apart an untaxed plot of twelve acres. This acre is a square of a hundred Egyptian cubits each way, the Egyptian cubit being equal to the Samian. These lands were set apart for all; it was never the same men who cultivated them, but each in turn.<sup>1</sup> A thousand Kalasiries and as many Hermodubies were the king's annual bodyguard. These men, besides their lands, received each a daily provision of five minae's weight of roast grain, two minae of beef, and four cups of wine. These were the gifts received by each bodyguard.

169. When Apries with his guards and Amasis with the whole force of Egyptians came to the town of Momemphis, they joined battle; and though the foreigners fought well, they were by much the fewer, and therefore were worsted. Apries, they say,

<sup>1</sup> That is, each twelve-acre plot was cultivated by a new occupier every year.

λέγεται εἶναι ἥδε διάνοια, μὴδ' ἂν θεὸν μιν μηδένα  
 δύνασθαι παῦσαι τῆς βασιληΐης· οὕτω ἀσφαλέως  
 ἐωυτῷ ἰδρῦσθαι ἐδόκεε. καὶ δὴ τότε συμβαλὼν  
 ἐσώθη καὶ ζωγρηθεὶς ἀπήχθη ἐς Σάιν πόλιν, ἐς  
 τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία πρότερον ἔοντα, τότε δὲ Ἀμάσιος  
 ἦδη βασιλῆα. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τέως μὲν ἐτρέφετο ἐν  
 τοῖσι βασιληίοισι, καὶ μιν Ἀμασις εὖ περιεΐπε·  
 τέλος δὲ μεμφομένων Αἰγυπτίων ὥς οὐ ποίεοι  
 δίκαια τρέφων τὸν σφίσι τε καὶ ἐωυτῷ ἔχθιστον,  
 οὕτω δὴ παραδίδοι τὸν Ἀπρίην τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι.  
 οἱ δὲ μιν ἀπέπνιξαν καὶ ἔπειτα ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇσι  
 πατρῴησι ταφῇσι· αἱ δὲ εἰσὶ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθη-  
 ναίης, ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ μεγάρου, ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς  
 χειρός. ἔθαψαν δὲ Σαῖται πάντας τοὺς ἐκ νομοῦ  
 τούτου γενομένους βασιλέας ἔσω ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. καὶ  
 γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος σῆμα ἑκαστέρῳ μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ  
 μεγάρου ἢ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπρίεω καὶ τῶν τούτου προ-  
 πατόρων, ἔστι μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ  
 ἱεροῦ, παστὰς λιθίνῃ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἡσκημένη στύ-  
 λωσί τε φοίνικας τὰ δένδρεα μεμιμημένοισι καὶ  
 τῇ ἄλλῃ δαπάνῃ· ἔσω δὲ ἐν τῇ παστάδι διξὰ  
 θυρώματα ἔστηκε, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι θυρώμασι ἡ θήκη  
 ἐστί.

170. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ταφαὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον  
 ποιεῖναι ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ἐξαγορεύειν τὸ  
 οὐνομα ἐν Σαί, ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ὅπισθε  
 τοῦ νηοῦ, παντὸς τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐχόμεναι  
 τοίχου. καὶ ἐν τῇ τεμένει ὀβελοὶ ἐστᾶσι μεγάλοι  
 λίθινοι, λίμνη τε ἐστὶ ἐχομένη λιθίνῃ κρηπίδι  
 κεκοσμημένη καὶ ἐργασμένη εὖ κύκλῳ καὶ  
 μέγας, ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκεε, ὅση περ ἢ ἐν Δήλῳ ἢ  
 τροχοειδὲς καλεομένη.

supposed that not even a god could depose him from his throne; so firmly he thought he was established; and now being worsted in battle and taken captive he was brought to Sais, to the royal dwelling which belonged once to him but now to Amasis. There he was sustained for a while in the palace, and well entreated by Amasis. But presently the Egyptians complained that there was no justice in allowing one who was their own and their king's bitterest enemy to live; whereupon Amasis gave Apries up to them, and they strangled him and then buried him in the burial-place of his fathers. This is in the temple of Athene, very near to the sanctuary, on the left of the entrance. The people of Sais buried within the temple precinct all kings who were natives of their province. The tomb of Amasis is farther from the sanctuary than the tomb of Apries and his ancestors; yet it also is within the temple court; it is a great colonnade of stone, richly adorned, the pillars whereof are wrought in the form of palm trees. In this colonnade are two portals, and the place where the coffin lies is within their doors.

170. There is also at Sais the burial-place of him whose name I deem it forbidden to utter in speaking of such a matter; it is in the temple of Athene, behind and close to the whole length of the wall of the shrine. Moreover great stone obelisks stand in the precinct; and there is a lake hard by, adorned with a stone margin and wrought to a complete circle; it is, as it seemed to me, of the bigness of the lake at Delos which they call the Round Pond.

171. Ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ ταύτῃ τὰ δείκηλα τῶν παθέων αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ποιεῦσι, τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι. περὶ μὲν νυν τούτων εἰδότε μοι ἐπὶ πλεον ὥς ἕκαστα αὐτῶν ἔχει, εὖστομα κείσθω. καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τελετῆς πέρι, τὴν οἱ Ἕλληνες θεσμοφῶρια καλέουσι, καὶ ταύτης μοι πέρι εὖστομα κείσθω, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὁσίῃ ἐστὶ λέγειν· αἱ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρες ἦσαν αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγαγούσαι καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγιώτιδας γυναῖκας· μετὰ δὲ ἐξαναστάσης πάσης<sup>1</sup> Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐξαπώλετο ἡ τελετή, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες Πελοποννησίων καὶ οὐκ ἐξαναστάντες Ἀρκάδες διέσωζον αὐτὴν μῦνοι.

172. Ἀπρίεω δὲ ὧδε καταραιρεημένου ἐβασίλευσε Ἄμασις, νομοῦ μὲν Σαῖτεω ἐὼν, ἐκ τῆς δὲ ἦν πόλις, οὐνομά οἱ ἐστὶ Σιούφ. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα κατῴνοντο τὸν Ἄμασιω Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐν οὐδεμιῇ μοίρῃ μεγάλη ἦγον ἅτε δὴ δημότην τὸ πρὶν εἶντα καὶ οἰκίης οὐκ ἐπιφανέος· μετὰ δὲ σοφίῃ αὐτοῦς ὁ Ἄμασις, οὐκ ἀγνωμοσύνη προσηγάγετο. ἦν οἱ ἄλλα τε ἀγαθὰ μυρία, ἐν δὲ καὶ ποδανιπτὴρ χρύσεος, ἐν τῷ αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἄμασις καὶ οἱ δαιτυμόνες οἱ πάντες τοὺς πόδας ἐκάστοτε ἐναπενίζοντο· τοῦτον κατ' ὧν κόψας ἄγαλμα δαίμονος ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἰδρυσε τῆς πόλις ὅκου ἦν ἐπιτηδεύτατον· οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι φοιτέοντες πρὸς τῷ ἀγάλματι ἐσέβοντο μεγάλως. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἄμασις τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀστῶν ποιούμενον, συγκαλέσας Αἰγυπτίους ἐξέφηνε φὰς ἐκ τοῦ ποδανιπτῆρος τῷ ἀγάλματι γεγο-

<sup>1</sup> Stein brackets πάσης, as not consistent with the following words.



171. On this lake they enact by night the story of the god's sufferings, a rite which the Egyptians call the Mysteries. I could speak more exactly of these matters, for I know the truth, but I will hold my peace; nor will I say aught concerning that rite of Demeter which the Greeks call Thesmophoria,<sup>1</sup> saving such part of it as I am not forbidden to mention. It was the daughters of Danaus who brought this rite out of Egypt and taught it to the Pelasgian women; afterwards, when the people of Peloponnesus were driven out by the Dorians, it was lost, except in so far as it was preserved by the Arcadians alone, the Peloponnesian nation that was not driven out but left in its home.

172. Apries being thus deposed, Amasis became king; he was of a town called Siuph in the province of Sais. Now at first he was contemned and held in but little regard by the Egyptians, as having been but a common man and of no high family; but presently he won them to him by being cunning and not arrogant. He had among his countless treasures a golden foot-bath, in which he and all those who feasted with him were ever wont to wash their feet. This he broke in pieces and made thereof a god's image, which he set in the most fitting place in the city; and the Egyptians came ever and anon to this image and held it in great reverence. When Amasis knew what the townsmen did, he called the Egyptians together and told them that the image had been made out of the foot-bath; once (said he)

<sup>1</sup> A festival celebrated by Athenian women in autumn.

νέναι, ἐς τὸν πρότερον μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐνεμέειν τε καὶ ἐνουρέειν καὶ πόδας ἐναπονίζεσθαι, τότε δὲ μεγάλως σέβεσθαι. ἤδη ὦν ἔφη λέγων ὁμοίως αὐτὸς τῷ ποδανιπτῇρι πεπρηγέναι· εἰ γὰρ πρότερον εἶναι δημότης, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ παρεόντι εἶναι αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς· καὶ τιμᾶν τε καὶ προμηθέεσθαι ἐωυτοῦ ἐκέλευε.

173. Τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ προσηγάγετο τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὥστε δικαιοῦν δουλεύειν, ἐχράτο δὲ καταστάσι πρηγμάτων τοιῇδε· τὸ μὲν ὄρθριον μέχρι ὅτε πληθούσης ἀγορῆς προθύμως ἐπρησσε τὰ προσφερόμενα πρήγματα, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐπινέ τε καὶ κατέσκωπτε τοὺς συμπότας καὶ ἦν μάταιός τε καὶ παιγνιήμων. ἀχθεσθέντες δὲ τούτοις οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ ἐνουθέτεον αὐτὸν τοιάδε λέγοντες. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐκ ὀρθῶς σεωυτοῦ προέστηκας, ἐς τὸ ἄγαν φαῦλον προάγων σεωντόν. σὲ γὰρ ἐχρῆν ἐν θρόνῳ σεμνῷ σεμνὸν θωκέοντα δι' ἡμέρης πρήσσειν τὰ πρήγματα, καὶ οὕτω Αἰγύπτιοί τ' ἂν ἠπιστέατο ὡς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου ἄρχονται, καὶ ἄμεινον σὺ ἂν ἤκουες· νῦν δὲ ποίεις οὐδαμῶς βασιλικά.” ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε αὐτούς. “Τὰ τόξα οἱ ἐκτημένοι, ἐπεὰν μὲν δέωνται χρᾶσθαι, ἐντανύουσι· εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐντεταμένα εἴη, ἐκραγείη ἅν, ὥστε ἐς τὸ δέον οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν αὐτοῖσι χρᾶσθαι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου κατάστασις· εἰ ἐθέλοι κατεσπουνδάσθαι αἰεὶ μηδὲ ἐς παιγνίην τὸ μέρος ἐωυτὸν ἀνιέναι, λάθοι ἂν ἦτοι μανείς ἢ ὁ γε ἀπόπληκτος γενόμενος· τὰ ἐγὼ ἐπιστάμενος μέρος ἐκατέρῳ νέμω.” ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς φίλους ἀμείψατο.

174. Λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἄμασις, καὶ ὅτε ἦν ἰδιώτης,

his subjects had washed their feet in it and put it to yet viler uses ; now they greatly revered it. " So now " (quoth he to them) " it has fared with me as with the foot-bath ; once I was a common man, now I am your king ; it is your duty to honour me and hold me in regard."

173. In this manner he won the Egyptians to consent to be his slaves ; and this is how he ordered his affairs : in the morning, till the filling of the market place, he wrought zealously at such business as came before him ; the rest of the day he spent in drinking and jesting with his boon companions in idle and sportive mood. But this displeased his friends, who thus admonished him : " O King, you are ill guided so to demean yourseif. We would have you sit aloft on a throne of pride all day doing your business ; thus would the Egyptians know that they have a great man for their ruler, and you would have the better name among them ; but now your behaviour is nowise royal." " Nay," Amasis answered them, " men that have bows bend them at need only ; were bows kept for ever bent they would break, and so would be of no avail when they were needed. Such too is the nature of men. Were they to be ever at serious work nor permit themselves a fair share of sport they would go mad or silly ere they knew it ; I am well aware of that, and give each of the two its turn." Such was his answer to his friends.

174. It is said that before Amasis was a king he

ὥς φιλοπότης ἦν καὶ φιλοσκώμων καὶ οὐδαμῶς κατεσπουδασμένος ἀνὴρ· ὅπως δέ μιν ἐπιλείποι πίνοντά τε καὶ εὐπαθέοντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα, κλέπτεσκε ἂν περιῶν· οἱ δ' ἂν μιν φάμενοι ἔχειν τὰ σφέτερα χρήματα ἀρνεύμενον ἄγεσκον ἐπὶ μαντήιον, ὅκου ἐκάστοισι εἶη. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἠλίσκετο ὑπὸ τῶν μαντήιων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπέφευγε. ἐπεῖτε δὲ καὶ ἐβασίλευσε, ἐποίησε τοιαύδε· ὅσοι μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν θεῶν ἀπέλυσαν μὴ φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων μὲν τῶν ἱρῶν οὔτε ἐπεμέλετο οὔτε ἐς ἐπισκευὴν ἐδίδου οὐδέν, οὐδὲ φοιτέων ἔθνε ὥς οὐδενὸς ἐοῦσι ἀξίοισι ψευδέα τε μαντήια ἐκτημένοισι· ὅσοι δέ μιν κατέδησαν φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων δὲ ὥς ἀληθέων θεῶν ἐόντων καὶ ἀψευδέα μαντήια παρεχομένων τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεμέλετο.

175. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Σαί τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ προπύλαια θωμάσια οἷα ἐξεποίησε, πολλὸν πάντας ὑπερβαλόμενος τῷ τε ὕψει καὶ τῷ μεγάλει, ὅσων τε τὸ μέγαθος λίθων ἐστὶ καὶ ὁκοίων τεῶν· τοῦτο δὲ κολοσσοὺς μεγάλους καὶ ἀνδρόσφιγγας περιμήκας ἀνέθηκε, λίθους τε ἄλλους ἐς ἐπισκευὴν ὑπερφυέας τὸ μέγαθος ἐκόμισε. ἡγάγετο δὲ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Μέμφιν ἐουσέων λιθοτομιέων, τοὺς δὲ ὑπερμεγάθειας ἐξ Ἑλεφαντίνης πόλιος πλόον καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμερέων ἀπεχούσης ἀπὸ Σαίος. τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἦκιστα αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μάλιστα θωμάζω, ἔστι τόδε· οἶκημα μουνόλιθον ἐκόμισε ἐξ Ἑλεφαντίνης πόλιος, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκόμιζον μὲν ἐπ'



was a man nowise serious-minded but much given to drinking and jesting; and when his drinking and merrymaking brought him to penury, he would wander around and steal from one and another. Then those others, when he denied the charge that he had taken their possessions, would bring him to whatever place of divination was nearest them; and the oracles often declared him guilty and often acquitted him. When he became king, he took no care of the shrines of the gods who had acquitted him of theft, nor gave them aught for maintenance, nor made it his practice to sacrifice there, for he deemed them to be worthless and their oracles to be false; but he tended with all care the gods who had declared his guilt, holding them to be gods in very truth and their oracles infallible.

175. Amasis made a marvellous outer court for the temple of Athene<sup>1</sup> at Saïs, surpassing, in height and grandeur, and in the size and splendour of the stones, all who had erected such buildings; moreover, he set up huge images and vast man-headed sphinxes,<sup>2</sup> and brought enormous blocks of stone besides for the building. Some of these he brought from the stone quarries of Memphis; those of greatest size came from the city Elephantine,<sup>3</sup> distant twenty days' journey by river from Saïs. But let me now tell of what I hold the most marvellous of his works. He brought from Elephantine a shrine made of one single block of stone; three years it

<sup>1</sup> Apparently, Nit; also identified with Demeter (132, note).

<sup>2</sup> Visitors to Karnak will remember the double row of sphinxes leading to the temple.

<sup>3</sup> The island opposite Assuan; the Assuan quarries have always been famous.

ἔτεα τρία, δισχίλιοι δὲ οἱ προστετάχατο ἄνδρες ἀγωγέες, καὶ οὗτοι ἅπαντες ἦσαν κυβερνήται. τῆς δὲ στέγης ταύτης τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἔξωθεν ἐστὶ εἰς τε καὶ εἴκοσι πήχες, εὖρος δὲ τεσσереσκαίδεκα, ὕψος δὲ ὀκτώ. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ μέτρα ἔξωθεν τῆς στέγης τῆς μονολίθου ἐστὶ, ἀτὰρ ἔσωθεν τὸ μῆκος ὀκτωκαίδεκα πήχέων καὶ πυγόνος . . . ,<sup>1</sup> τὸ δὲ ὕψος πέντε πήχέων ἐστὶ. αὕτη τοῦ ἱροῦ κέεται παρὰ τὴν ἔσοδον· ἔσω γάρ μιν ἐς τὸ ἱρόν φασι τῶνδε εἵνεκα οὐκ ἐσελκύσαι· τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς ἐλκομένης τῆς στέγης ἀναστενάξαι, οἷά τε χρόνου ἐγγεγονότος πολλοῦ καὶ ἀχθόμενον τῷ ἔργῳ, τὸν δὲ Ἀμασιν ἐνθύμιον ποιησάμενον οὐκ ἔαν ἔτι προσωτέρω ἐλκύσαι. ἤδη δὲ τινὲς λέγουσι ὡς ἀνθρώπος διεφθάρη ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῶν τις αὐτὴν μοχλευόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου οὐκ ἐσελκυσθῆναι.

176. Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἱροῖσι ὁ Ἀμασις πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐλλογίμοισι ἔργα τὸ μέγαθος ἀξιοθέητα, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐν Μέμφι τὸν ὑπτιον κείμενον κολοσσὸν τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἔμπροσθε, τοῦ πόδες πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα εἰς τὸ μῆκος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ βάθρῳ ἐστᾶσι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑόντος λίθου δύο κολοσσοί, εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ μέγαθος ἑὼν ἑκάτερος, ὁ μὲν ἐνθεν ὁ δ' ἐνθεν τοῦ μεγάλου. ἐστὶ δὲ λίθινος ἕτερος τοσοῦτος καὶ ἐν Σάι, κείμενος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ ἐν Μέμφι. τῇ Ἰσι τε τὸ ἐν Μέμφι ἱρόν Ἀμασις ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξοικοδομήσας, ἑὸν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιοθεητότατον.

177. Ἐπ' Ἀμάσιος δὲ βασιλέος λέγεται Αἴγυπτος μάλιστα δὴ τότε εὐδαιμονῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> This lacuna is in one MS. filled by the words τὰ δὲ εἶροι δωάδεκα πήχέων.

was in the bringing, and two thousand men were charged with the carriage of it, pilots all of them. This chamber measures in outer length twenty-one cubits, in breadth fourteen, in height eight. These are the outer measurements of the chamber which is made of one block; its inner length is of eighteen cubits and four-fifths of a cubit, and its height of five cubits. It lies by the entrance of the temple; the reason why it was not dragged within into the temple was (so they say), that while it was being drawn the chief builder groaned aloud for the much time spent and his weariness of the work, and Amasis taking this to heart would not suffer it to be drawn further. Some again say that a man, one of them that heaved up the shrine, was crushed by it, and therefore it was not dragged within.

176. Moreover Amasis dedicated, besides monuments of marvellous size in all the other temples of note, the huge image that lies supine before Hephaestus' temple at Memphis; this image is seventy-five feet in length; there stand on the same base, on either side of the great image, two huge statues hewn from the same block, each of them twenty feet high. There is at Saïs another stone figure of like bigness, lying as lies the figure at Memphis. It was Amasis, too, who built the great and most marvellous temple of Isis at Memphis.

177. It is said that in the reign of Amasis Egypt attained to its greatest prosperity, in respect of what

ποταμοῦ τῇ χώρῃ γινόμενα καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τὰς ἀπάσας τότε δισμυρίας τὰς οἰκεσμένας. νόμον τε Αἰγυπτίοισι τόνδε Ἄμασις ἐστὶ ὁ καταστήσας, ἀποδεικνύναι ἕτεος ἐκάστου τῷ νομάρχῃ πάντα τινὰ Αἰγυπτίων ὅθεν βιοῦται· μὴ δὲ ποιεῦντα ταῦτα μηδὲ ἀποφαίνοντα δικαίην ζόην ἰθύνεσθαι θανάτῳ. Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῦτον τὸν νόμον Ἀθηναίοισι ἔθετο· τῷ ἐκείνοι ἐς αἰεὶ χρέωνται ἔοντι ἀμώμῳ νόμῳ.

178. Φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἄμασις ἄλλα τε ἐς Ἑλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπικνευμένοισι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικῆσαι· τοῖσι δὲ μὴ βουλομένοισι αὐτῶν οἰκέειν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ναυτιλλομένοισι ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνιδρύσασθαι βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένεια θεοῖσι. τὸ μὲν νυν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος, καὶ ὀνομαστότατον ἔδν καὶ χρησιμώτατον, καλεούμενον δὲ Ἑλλήνιον, αἶδε αἱ πόλεις εἰς αἱ ἰδρυμέναι κοινῇ, Ἰώνων μὲν Χίος καὶ Τέως καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Κλαζομεναί, Δωριέων δὲ Ῥόδος καὶ Κνίδος καὶ Ἀλικαρνησσὸς καὶ Φάσηλις, Αἰολέων δὲ ἡ Μυτιληναίων μούνη. τουτέων μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος, καὶ προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου αὗται αἱ πόλεις εἰς αἱ παρέχουσai· ὅσαι δὲ ἄλλαι πόλεις μεταποιεῦνται, οὐδὲν σφί μετεδν μεταποιεῦνται. χωρὶς δὲ Αἰγινῆται ἐπὶ ἐωυτῶν ἰδρύσαντο τέμενος Διός, καὶ ἄλλο Σάμιοι Ἡρῆς καὶ Μιλήσιοι Ἀπόλλωνος.

179. Ἦν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μούνη Ναύκρατις ἐμπορίον καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτου· εἰ δέ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἄλλο στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου ἀπῆκοιτο, χρῆν



the river did for the land and the land for its people : and that the whole sum of inhabited cities in the country was twenty thousand. It was Amasis also who made the law that every Egyptian should yearly declare his means of livelihood to the ruler of his province, and, failing so to do or to prove that he had a just way of life, be punished with death. Solon the Athenian got this law from Egypt and established it among his people ; may they ever keep it ! for it is a perfect law.

178. Amasis became a lover of the Greeks, and besides other services which he did to some of them he gave those who came to Egypt the city of Naucratis to dwell in, and to those who voyaged to the country without desire to settle there he gave lands where they might set altars and make holy places for their gods. Of these the greatest and most famous and most visited precinct is that which is called the Hellenion, founded jointly by the Ionian cities of Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae, the Dorian cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis, and one Aeolian city, Mytilene. It is to these that the precinct belongs, and these are they that appoint wardens of the port ; if any others claim rights therein they lay claim to that wherein they have no part or lot. The Aeginetans made a precinct of their own, sacred to Zeus ; and so did the Samians for Here and the Milesians for Apollo.

179. Naucratis was in old time the only trading port in Egypt. Whosoever came to any other mouth of the Nile must swear that he had not come of his

ὁμόσαι μὴ μὲν ἐκόντα ἐλθεῖν, ἀπομόσαντα δὲ τῇ νηὶ αὐτῇ πλέειν εἰς τὸ Κανωβικόν· ἢ εἰ μὴ γε οἶά τε εἴη πρὸς ἀνέμους ἀντίους πλέειν, τὰ φορτία ἔδωκε περιάγειν ἐν βάρισι περὶ τὸ Δέλτα, μέχρι οὐ ἀπίκοιτο εἰς Ναύκρατιν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ναύκρατις ἐτετίμητο.

180. Ἀμφικτυόνων δὲ μισθωσάντων τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι νῦν ἔοντα νηὸν τριηκοσίων ταλάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι (ὁ γὰρ πρότερον ἔων αὐτόθι αὐτόματος κατεκάη), τοὺς Δελφοὺς δὴ ἐπέβαλλε τεταρτημόριον τοῦ μισθώματος παρασχεῖν. πλανώμενοι δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἔδωτίναζον, ποιεῦντες δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἠνείκαντο· Ἀμασις μὲν γάρ σφι ἔδωκε χίλια στυπτηρίης τάλαντα, οἱ δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες Ἕλληνες εἴκοσι μνέας.

181. Κυρηναίοισι δὲ Ἀμασις φιλότητά τε καὶ συμμαχίην συνεθήκατο, ἐδικαίωσε δὲ καὶ γῆμαι αὐτόθεν, εἴτ' ἐπιθυμήσας Ἑλληνίδος γυναικὸς εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως φιλότητος Κυρηναίων εἵνεκα· γαμέει δὲ ὧν οἱ μὲν λέγουσι Βάττου οἱ δ' Ἀρκεσίλεω θυγατέρα, οἱ δὲ Κριτοβούλου ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμον, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Λαδίκη· τῇ ἐπεῖτε συγκλίνοιτο ὁ Ἀμασις, μίσγεσθαι οὐκ οἷός τε ἐγίνετο, τῇσι δὲ ἄλλησι γυναιξὶ ἐχρᾶτο. ἐπεῖτε δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἶπε ὁ Ἀμασις πρὸς τὴν Λαδίκην ταύτην καλεομένην, "ὦ γύναι, κατὰ με ἐφάρμαξας, καὶ ἔστι τοι οὐδεμία μηχανὴ μὴ οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι κάκιστα γυναικῶν πασέων." ἢ δὲ Λαδίκη, ἐπεῖτε οἱ ἀρνευμένη οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πρῆύτερος ὁ Ἀμασις, εὐχεται ἐν τῷ νόῳ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἣν οἱ ὑπ' ἐκείνην

own will, and having so sworn must then take his ship and sail to the Canobic mouth; or, if he could not sail against contrary winds, he must carry his cargo in barges round the Delta till he came to Naucratis. In such honour was Naucratis held.

180. When the Amphictyons had contracted for three hundred talents the work of finishing the temple that now stands at Delphi (that which was formerly there having been burnt by pure mischance), it fell to the Delphians to provide a fourth part of the cost. They went about from city to city collecting gifts, and in this business they got most from Egypt; for Amasis gave them a thousand talents' weight of astringent earth,<sup>1</sup> and the Greek dwellers in Egypt twenty minae.

181. Amasis made friends and allies of the people of Cyrene. Moreover he thought fit to take himself a wife from thence; whether it was that he desired a Greek woman, or that he had other cause for winning the friendship of Cyrene, I know not; but he married one Ladice, said to be the daughter of Battus by some, of Arcesilaus by others, and by others again of Critobulus, an esteemed citizen of the place. But it so fell out that Ladice was the only woman with whom Amasis could not have intercourse; and this continuing, Amasis said to this Ladice, "Woman, you have cast a spell on me, and most assuredly you shall come to the most terrible end of all women." So, the king's anger not abating for all her denial, Ladice vowed in her heart to

<sup>1</sup> Alum, apparently.

τὴν νύκτα μιχθῇ ὁ Ἄμασις, τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ κακοῦ εἶναι μῆχος, ἄγαλμά οἱ ἀποπέμψειν ἐς Κυρήνην. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτίκα οἱ ἐμίχθη ὁ Ἄμασις. καὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη, ὁκοῦτε ἔλθοι Ἄμασις πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐμίσηγετο, καὶ κάρτα μιν ἔστερξε μετὰ τοῦτο. ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη ἀπέδωκε τὴν εὐχὴν τῇ θεῷ ποιησάμενη γὰρ ἄγαλμα ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Κυρήνην, τὸ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν σόον, ἔξω τετραμμένον τοῦ Κυρηναίου ἄστεος. ταύτην τὴν Λαδίκην, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε Καμβύσης Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτῆς ἥτις εἶη, ἀπέπεμψε Ἀσινέα ἐς Κυρήνην.

182. Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ὁ Ἄμασις ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς Κυρήνην ἄγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον Ἀθηναίης καὶ εἰκόνα ἑωυτοῦ γραφῇ εἰκασμένην, τοῦτο δὲ τῇ ἐν Λίνδῳ Ἀθηναίῃ δύο τε ἀγάλματα λίθινα καὶ θώρηκα λίνεον ἀξιοθέητον, τοῦτο δ' ἐς Σάμον τῇ Ἡρῇ εἰκόνας ἑωυτοῦ διφασίας ξυλίνας, αἱ ἐν τῷ νηῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἰδρύατο ἔτι καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, ὅπισθε τῶν θυρέων. ἐς μὲν νυν Σάμον ἀνέθηκε κατὰ ξεινίην τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τε καὶ Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Αἰάκεος, ἐς δὲ Λίνδον ξεινίης μὲν οὐδεμιῆς εἶνεκεν, ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Λίνδῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίης λέγεται τὰς Δαναοῦ θυγατέρας ἰδρύσασθαι προσσχούσας, ὅτε ἀπεδίδρυσκον τοὺς Αἰγύπτου παῖδας. ταῦτα μὲν ἀνέθηκε ὁ Ἄμασις, εἶλε δὲ Κύπρον πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατεστρέψατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν.



Aphrodite that she would send the goddess a statue to Cyrene if Amasis had intercourse with her that night; for that would remedy the evil; and thereafter all went well, and Amasis loved his wife much. Ladice paid her vow to the goddess; she had an image made and sent it to Cyrene, where it stood safe till my time, facing outwards from the city. Cambyses, when he had conquered Egypt and learnt who Ladice was, sent her away to Cyrene unharmed.

182. Moreover Amasis dedicated offerings in Hellas. He gave to Cyrene a gilt image of Athene and a painted picture of himself, to Athene of Lindus two stone images and a marvellous linen breast-plate, and to Here in Samos two wooden statues of himself, which stood yet in my time behind the doors in the great shrine. The offerings in Samos were dedicated by reason of the friendship between Amasis and Polycrates<sup>1</sup> son of Aeaces; what he gave to Lindus was for no friendship with any man, but because it is said that the temple of Athene in Lindus was founded by the daughters of Danaus, when they landed there in their flight from the sons of Egyptus. Such were Amasis' offerings. Moreover he was the first conqueror of Cyprus, which he made tributary to himself.

<sup>1</sup> Polycrates' rule began probably in 532 B.C. For the friendship between him and Amasis, see iii. 39.



# INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

- Abae, I. 46  
 Abantes, I. 146  
 Abdera, I. 188  
 Acarnania, II. 10  
 Achaean, I. 145, 146; II. 120  
 Archaemenidae, I. 125  
 Achelous, II. 10  
 Adrastus, I. 35, 41, 43, 45  
 Adrias, I. 163  
 Aea, I. 2  
 Aegae, I. 145  
 Aegaeae, I. 149  
 Aegeus, I. 173  
 Aegion, I. 145  
 Aegira, I. 145  
 Aegiroessa, I. 149  
 Aegyptus, II. passim  
 Aeolians, I. 6, 26, 28, 141, 149-152,  
 157, 171; II. 1, 90, 178  
 Aeschylus, II. 156  
 Aesopus, II. 134  
 Aethiopia, II. 11, 28, 30, 110, 114,  
 129, 146, 161  
 Aethiopiata, II. 22, 39, 30, 104,  
 137-140  
 Agamemnon, I. 67  
 Agasicles, I. 144  
 Agbatana, I. 98, 110, 153  
 Agron, I. 7  
 Agyllae, I. 167  
 Alafia, I. 165, 166  
 Alcmaeus, I. 7  
 Alcenor, I. 82  
 Alcmaeon, I. 59  
 Alcmaeonidae, I. 61, 64  
 Alcmena, II. 43, 145  
 Alexandrus, I. 3; II. 113-117  
 Alitta, I. 131  
 Alyattes, I. 16-25, 73, 74, 92, 93  
 Amasia, I. 30, 77, 181; II. 154,  
 161-163, 169, 172-176, 178, 182  
 Ammon, I. 46; II. 32, 55  
 Ammonii, II. 32, 42  
 Amoun, II. 42  
 Amphiarus, I. 46, 49, 52  
 Amphictyones, II. 180  
 Amphilytus, I. 62  
 Amphitryon, II. 43  
 Amyntaeus, II. 149  
 Amytheon, II. 49  
 Anaxandrides, I. 67  
 Anthylla, II. 98  
 Anysis, II. 137, 140, 166  
 Apaturia, I. 147  
 Aphrodisium (Cyprian), I. 105  
 — (Egyptian), II. 112  
 Aphrodite, I. 105, 131, 199; II. 41,  
 112, 181  
 Aphthitana, II. 166  
 Apis (town), II. 18  
 — (= Epaphus), II. 153  
 Apollo, I. 50, 52, 60, 87, 91, 144;  
 II. 159, 178  
 Apries, II. 161, 169  
 Arabia, II. 8, 12, 15, 19, 77, 124, 158  
 Arabian Gulf, II. 11, 102, 158  
 Arabes, I. 131, 198  
 Araxes, I. 202, 205  
 Arcades, I. 66, 146; II. 171  
 Archandrus, II. 97, 98  
 Archidice, II. 135  
 Archilochus, I. 12  
 Ardericca, I. 185  
 Ardis, I. 15  
 Ares, II. 63, 64, 83  
 Arganthonius, I. 163, 165  
 Argivi, I. 31, 82  
 Argolla, I. 82  
 Argos, I. 1, 5, 82  
 Arion, I. 23, 24  
 Ariaba, I. 151  
 Aristodiceus, I. 158, 159  
 Ariston, I. 67  
 Arizanti, I. 101  
 Armenii, I. 194  
 Arsames, I. 209

# INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Artembares, i. 114-116  
 Artemis, i. 26; ii. 59, 60, 83, 137, 156  
 Arzenis, i. 74  
 Ascalon, i. 105  
 Asia, i. 4, 95, 102, 104, 130; ii. 17, 117  
 Asmach, ii. 30  
 Assesus, i. 19  
 Assyria, i. 178, 192, 193; ii. 17  
 Assyrii, i. 1, 95, 102, 103, 106, 178, 183, 192-4; ii. 17, 30, 141, 150  
 Astyages, i. 46, 73-75, 107-8, 119, 123, 127-130, 139  
 Asychia, ii. 136  
 Atarbeckia, ii. 41  
 Atarnesus, i. 160  
 Athens, i. 19, 22, 60, 66, 92; ii. 28, 59, 83, 169, 170, 175, 182  
 Athens (and Attica), i. 29, 57-64, 147; ii. 51  
 Athribites, ii. 166  
 Atlantic sea, i. 200  
 Atys (son of Manes), i. 7, 94  
 — (son of Croesus), i. 34-43  
 Automoli, ii. 30  
 Azotus, ii. 157

Babylon (and Babylonians), i. 153, 178-200; ii. 109  
 Belus, i. 7  
 Bias, i. 27, 170  
 Bithyni, i. 28  
 Biton, i. 31  
 Boeotia, ii. 49  
 Bolbitine mouth of Nile, ii. 17  
 Branchidae, i. 46, 92, 157, 158; ii. 159  
 Bubastia, ii. 59, 137, 156, 166  
 Budii, i. 101  
 Bura, i. 145  
 Busae, i. 101  
 Busiris, ii. 59, 61  
 Buto, ii. 59, 63, 155  
 Bubassia, i. 174

Cadmei, ii. 45, 49  
 Cadytis, ii. 159  
 Calasiries, ii. 164-168  
 Cambyzes (Cyrus' father), i. 45, 107, 111, 122  
 — (Cyrus' son), i. 208; ii. 1  
 Camirus, i. 144  
 Candaules, i. 7, 8, 10-12

Canobic mouth of Nile, ii. 15, 17, 113, 179  
 Canobus, ii. 15, 97  
 Cappadocia, i. 71-73, 76  
 Carians, i. 28, 92, 142, 146, 171, 174; ii. 61, 152, 154, 163  
 Carthaginians, i. 166, 167  
 Casian mountains, ii. 6, 158  
 Caspian, i. 202, 203  
 Cassandane, ii. 1  
 Catadupa, ii. 17  
 Caucasus, i. 104, 203, 204  
 Caucones, i. 147  
 Caunli, i. 172, 176  
 Celtæ, ii. 33  
 Cercasorus, ii. 15, 17, 97  
 Chalybes, i. 28  
 Charaxus, ii. 135  
 Chemmis, ii. 91, 156, 165  
 Cheops, ii. 124, 126, 127, 129  
 Chephren, ii. 127, 128  
 Chilon, i. 59  
 Chios, i. 18, 142, 160; ii. 135, 178  
 Choaspes, i. 188  
 Chromius, i. 82  
 Cilicia, i. 28, 72; ii. 17, 34  
 Cilla, i. 149  
 Cimmerii, i. 6, 15, 16, 103  
 Clazomenae, i. 16, 142; ii. 178  
 Cleobis, i. 31  
 Cnidus, i. 144, 174; ii. 178  
 Codrus, i. 147  
 Colchi, i. 2, 104; ii. 105, 109  
 Colophon, i. 14, 142  
 Corinth, i. 14, 23, 24, 50, 51; ii. 167  
 Cos, i. 144  
 Crathis, i. 145  
 Creston, i. 57  
 Crete, i. 2, 65, 172-173  
 Croesus, i. 7 et passim ap. i.  
 Crophii, ii. 28  
 Cume, i. 149, 157  
 Cyaxares, i. 16, 46, 73, 103, 106  
 Cynesii, ii. 33  
 Cyprus, i. 72, 105, 199; ii. 79, 182  
 Cypselus, i. 14, 20, 23  
 Cyrene, ii. 32, 33, 161, 181, 182  
 Cyrnus, i. 165-167  
 Cyrus, i. 46 et passim ap. i.  
 Cythera, i. 82, 105

Dai, i. 225  
 Danaë, ii. 91  
 Danaus, ii. 91, 98  
 Daphnae, ii. 30, 107



# INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

- Dardanians, I. 189  
 Darius, I. 183, 187, 202, 210; II. 158  
 Daecylus, I. 8  
 Delos, I. 16, 73, 96-99, 101, 103  
 Delos, I. 64; II. 170  
 Delphi, I. 13, 14, 19, 20, 25, 46-48,  
 50-55, 65-67, 85, 92, 167, 174;  
 II. 134, 135, 180  
 Delta, II. 13, 15-18, 41, 59, 97, 179  
 Derusiaci, I. 125  
 Deucalion, I. 56  
 Dindymene, I. 80  
 Diomedes, II. 116  
 Dionysus, II. 29, 42, 47, 48, 49, 52,  
 123, 144-146, 156  
 Dioscuri, II. 43, 50  
 Dodona, I. 46; II. 52, 53, 57, 58  
 Dorians, I. 56, 57, 139, 140, 171;  
 II. 178  
 Dorus, I. 56  
 Dropici, I. 125  
 Dryopes, I. 56, 146  
 Dyme, I. 145  
  
 Echinades, II. 10  
 Elbo, II. 140  
 Eleans, II. 160  
 Elephantine, II. 9, 17, 28, 63, 175  
 Eleusis, I. 30  
 Eneti, I. 196  
 Epaphus, II. 38, 153  
 Ephesus, I. 92, 142; II. 10, 148  
 Eretria, I. 61, 62  
 Erythrae, I. 18, 142  
 Etearchus, II. 32, 33  
 Euphorion, II. 156  
 Euphrates, I. 180, 185, 186, 191, 193  
 Europe, I. 4, 103, 209; II. 16, 26,  
 33, 103; (daughter of Agenor),  
 I. 2, 173  
  
 Germanii, I. 125  
 Glaucus (of Chios), I. 25  
 — (son of Hippolochus), I. 147  
 Gordias, I. 14, 35, 45  
 Gorgon, II. 91  
 Grynea, I. 149  
 Gygaean lake, I. 92  
 Gyges, I. 8-15  
 Gyndes, I. 189, 190, 202  
  
 Halicarnassus, I. 144, 175; II. 178  
 Halys, I. 6, 28, 72, 75, 103, 130  
 Harpagus, I. 80, 108-110, 118, 119,  
 123, 129, 162, 169, 171-176  
  
 Hecataeus, II. 143  
 Hector, II. 129  
 Hegesicles, I. 65  
 Helena, I. 3; II. 112, 113, 115-120  
 Helice, I. 145  
 Heliopollis, II. 3, 7-9, 59, 63, 73  
 Hellas, Hellenes, *passim*  
 Hephaestopolis, II. 134  
 Hephaestus, II. 3, 99, 101, 108, 110,  
 112, 121, 136, 141, 142, 147, 151,  
 153, 176  
 Heracles, I. 7; II. 33, 42-44, 83, 113  
 Heraclidas, I. 7, 13, 91  
 Heraclides, I. 158  
 Here, I. 31, 70; II. 178  
 Hermes, II. 51, 138, 145  
 Hermotyles, II. 164, 165, 168  
 Hermus, I. 55, 80  
 Herodotus, I. 1  
 Hesiodus, II. 53  
 Hippia, I. 61  
 Hippocratea, I. 59  
 Hippolochus, I. 147  
 Histia, II. 50  
 Histiaeotis, I. 56  
 Homer, II. 23, 53, 116, 117  
 Hyeta, I. 167  
 Hyllus, I. 80  
 Hyroades, I. 84  
 Hystaspes, I. 183, 209  
  
 Iadmon, II. 134  
 Ialysus, I. 144  
 Iardanus, I. 17  
 Iberia, I. 163  
 Ida, I. 151  
 Ilium, I. 5; II. 10, 117-120  
 Ilyria, I. 196  
 Io, I. 1, 2, 5; II. 41  
 Ionians, *passim*  
 Is, I. 179  
 Isis, II. 41, 42, 59, 61, 122, 123, 156,  
 176  
 Issedones, I. 201  
 Ister, I. 202; II. 26, 33, 34  
 Istria, II. 33  
 Italia, I. 24, 145  
  
 Labynetus, I. 74, 77, 188  
 Lacedaemon, I. 6, 65-68, 82  
 Lacrinea, I. 152  
 Ladice, II. 181  
 Lebedus, I. 142  
 Leleges, I. 171

# INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Leobotes, I. 65  
 Leon, I. 65  
 Lesbos, I. 151, 160, 202  
 Libya (and Libyans), I. 46; II. 8,  
 12, 15-18, 20, 22, 24-26, 32,  
 50, 54-56, 65, 77, 91, 99, 124,  
 150, 158, 161  
 Liches, I. 67, 68  
 Lide, I. 174, 175  
 Limeneum, I. 18  
 Lindus, I. 144; II. 182  
 Linus, II. 79  
 Loxias, I. 91  
 Lycia, I. 28, 147, 171, 173, 176, 182  
 Lycurgus, I. 65, 66  
 Lycus, I. 173  
 Lydia, *passim* ap. I.  
 Lydus, I. 7, 171  
 Lynceus, II. 91

Macedni, I. 56  
 Macrones, II. 104  
 Madyes, I. 103  
 Maeander, II. 29  
 Macetia, I. 104  
 Magdolus, II. 159  
 Magi, I. 101, 107, 108, 120, 128, 132,  
 140  
 Magnesia, I. 161  
 Malene, I. 82  
 Mandane, I. 107, 108, 111  
 Maneros, II. 79  
 Manes, I. 94  
 Maraphil, I. 125  
 Marathon, I. 62  
 Mardi, I. 125  
 Marea, II. 18, 30  
 Mariandyni, I. 28  
 Maspli, I. 125  
 Massagetæ, I. 201, 204, 208, 211,  
 212, 214-216  
 Matieni, I. 72, 202  
 Mazares, I. 156, 157, 160, 161  
 Medea, I. 2, 3  
 Medians, I. 16, *et passim* ap. I.  
 Megacles, I. 59, 61  
 Megariana, I. 59  
 Meli, I. 7  
 Melampus, II. 49  
 Melanthus, I. 147  
 Meles, I. 84  
 Memphis, II. 3, 8, 10, 12-14, 97, 99,  
 112, 115, 119, 150, 153, 154, 158,  
 175, 176

Mendes, II. 42, 46, 145  
 Menelaus, II. 113, 116, 118, 119  
 Mermnadae, I. 7, 14  
 Meroe, II. 29  
 Methymna, I. 151  
 Midas, I. 14, 35  
 Miletus, I. 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22, 25,  
 92, 142, 143, 146, 169; II. 33,  
 159, 178  
 Milyae, I. 173  
 Min, II. 4, 99  
 Minos, I. 171, 173  
 Minyae, I. 146  
 Mitra, I. 131  
 Mitradatae, I. 110, 111, 121  
 Moeris (lake), II. 4, 69, 148, 149  
 — (King), II. 13, 191  
 Mophi, II. 28  
 Mycale, I. 148  
 Mycerinus, II. 129-133, 136  
 Myecphorite district, II. 168  
 Mylasa, I. 171  
 Mylitta, I. 131, 199  
 Myrina, I. 149  
 Myrsilus, I. 7  
 Myrsus, I. 7  
 Mysians, I. 28, 36, 37, 160, 171  
 Mytilene, I. 160; II. 135  
 Myus, I. 142

Nasamones, II. 32, 33  
 Nathos, II. 165  
 Naucratis, II. 97, 135, 178-180  
 Naxos, I. 64  
 Necos, II. 152, 158, 159  
 Nilus, II. *passim*.  
 Ninus (King), I. 7; II. 150  
 — (city), I. 102, 103, 106, 178, 185,  
 193; II. 150  
 Nisaea, I. 59  
 Nitocris (of Egypt), II. 100  
 — (of Babylon), I. 185; II. 100  
 Notium, I. 149  
 Nysa, II. 146

Oenotria, I. 167  
 Oenussae, I. 165  
 Oeolycus, I. 149  
 Olenus, I. 145  
 Olympia, I. 59, 160  
 Olympus (in Thessaly), I. 56; (in  
 Mysia), I. 36, 43  
 Onuphitan district, II. 166  
 Opi, I. 189

# INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

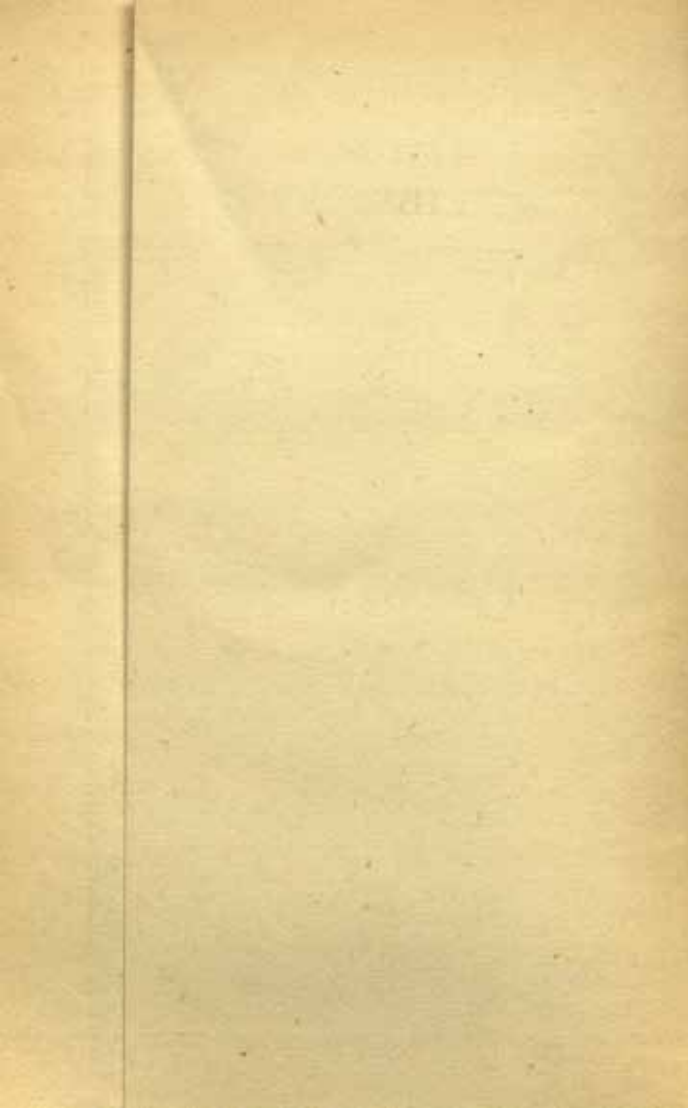
- Orchomenus, I. 16, 146  
 Orestes, I. 67, 68  
 Orphica, II. 81  
 Orus, II. 144  
 Osiris, II. 42, 47-48, 123, 144-146, 156  
 Ossa, I. 56  
 Othryades, I. 82  
  
 Pactyes, I. 153-161  
 Palestine, I. 105; II. 104, 106  
 Pamphylians, I. 28  
 Pan, II. 46, 145, 146  
 Pandion, I. 173  
 Panionia, I. 148  
 Panionium, I. 141-143, 148, 170  
 Panormus, I. 157  
 Pantaleon, I. 92  
 Panthialaei, I. 125  
 Paphlagonians, I. 6, 24, 72  
 Papremis, II. 59, 63, 71, 165  
 Parefaceni, I. 101  
 Parthenius, II. 104  
 Pasargadae, I. 125  
 Patara, I. 182  
 Patarbemis, II. 162  
 Patres, I. 145  
 Pedasus, I. 175  
 Pelasgians, I. 56-58, 146; II. 50-52, 56, 171  
 Pellene, I. 145  
 Peloponneans, I. 56, 61, 68; II. 171  
 Pelusium, II. 15, 17, 36, 141, 154  
 Penelope, II. 145, 146  
 Pentapolis, I. 144  
 Periander, I. 20, 23, 24  
 Persens, II. 15, 91  
 Persians, passim ap. I.  
 Phareos, I. 145  
 Pharnapes, II. 1  
 Phaselis, II. 178  
 Phasis, I. 2, 104; II. 103  
 Pheros, II. 111  
 Philition, II. 128  
 Phocaea, I. 80, 142, 152, 162, 164, 165, 168; II. 106, 178  
 Phocians, I. 46, 146  
 Phoenice and Phoenicians, I. 1, 2, 5, 105, 143; II. 32, 44, 49, 54, 56, 79, 104, 112, 116  
 Phraortes, I. 73, 96, 102  
 Phrygians, I. 14, 28, 35, 72; II. 2  
 Phthiotis, I. 56  
 Phya, I. 60  
  
 Pindus, I. 56  
 Pirus, I. 145  
 Pisa, II. 7  
 Pisistratus, I. 59-61  
 Pitane, I. 149  
 Pittacus, I. 27  
 Placie, I. 57  
 Poseidon, I. 148; II. 43, 50  
 Poseidonia, I. 167  
 Priam, I. 3, 4; II. 120  
 Priene, I. 15, 142, 161  
 Prosopitis, II. 41, 165  
 Proteus, II. 112, 114-116, 118, 121  
 Protothyra, I. 103  
 Psammethicus, II. 2, 28, 30, 151-155, 157, 158, 161  
 Psammia, II. 160  
 Pteria, I. 76  
 Pylians, I. 147  
 Pyrene, II. 33  
 Pytherrus, I. 152  
 Pythian priestess, I. 13, 19, 47, 49, 55, 65-67, 85, 91, 167, 174  
 Pytho, I. 54  
  
 Rhampsinitus, II. 121, 122, 124  
 Rhegium, I. 166, 167  
 Rhodes, I. 174; II. 178  
 Rhodops, II. 124, 125  
 Rhyex, I. 145  
  
 Sabacos, II. 137-139, 152  
 Sacae, I. 153  
 Sagartii, I. 125  
 Sals, II. 28, 59, 62, 130, 163, 169, 170, 175, 176  
 Samos, I. 70, 142, 148, 152; II. 148, 168, 178, 182  
 Samothracians, II. 51  
 Sanacharibus, II. 141  
 Sandanis, I. 71  
 Sappho, II. 135  
 Sardanapallus, II. 150  
 Sardis, I. 7, 15, 69, 70, 73, 77-79, 80, 84, 85, 141, 152-157; II. 106  
 Sardo, I. 166, 170  
 Sardyattes, I. 16, 18  
 Sarpedon, I. 173  
 Saspres, I. 104  
 Scamandronymus, II. 135  
 Scylace, I. 57  
 Scythia and Scythians, I. 15, 73, 74, 103-106, 130; II. 22, 103, 110, 167

# INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

- Sebennytic district, H. 17, 155, 166  
 Semiramis, I. 184  
 Semele, H. 145, 146  
 Serbonian Marsh, H. 6  
 Sesostria, H. 102-104, 106-108, 110, 111, 137  
 Sethos, H. 141  
 Sidon, H. 116, 161  
 Sinope, I. 76; H. 34  
 Siuph, H. 172  
 Smyrna, I. 14, 16, 94, 143, 149, 150; H. 106  
 Solofis, H. 31  
 Solon, I. 29-34, 86; H. 177  
 Solymi, I. 173  
 Spargapessa, I. 211, 213  
 Sparta, I. 65  
 Struchates, I. 101  
 Strymon, I. 64  
 Susa, I. 188  
 Syene, H. 28  
 Syennesis, I. 74  
 Syme, I. 174  
 Syria, Syrians, I. 6, 72, 76, 105; H. 12, 20, 30, 104, 106, 159  
 Syrtis, H. 32, 150  
  
 Tabalus, I. 154, 161  
 Tachompeo, H. 29  
 Taenarum, I. 23, 24  
 Tanite district, H. 166  
 Taras, I. 24  
 Tartessus, I. 163  
 Tegea, I. 65, 66-68  
 Tellus, I. 30  
 Teos, I. 142, 168, 170; H. 178  
 Telmessians, I. 78, 84  
 Temnus, I. 149  
  
 Tenedos, I. 151  
 Teucri, H. 118  
 Teuthrania, H. 10  
 Thales, I. 74, 75, 170  
 Thasos, H. 44  
 Thebes (Boeotian), I. 52, 92  
 — (Egyptian), I. 182; H. 3, 9, 15, 54-56, 58, 69, 74, 91, 143, 166  
 Theodorus, I. 51  
 Thermodon, H. 104  
 Thesmophoria, H. 171  
 Thessalia, I. 57  
 Thimultan district, H. 166  
 Thonis, H. 113, 114  
 Thornax, I. 69  
 Thrace, I. 168; H. 103, 134, 167  
 Thrasybulus, I. 20-23  
 Thyni, I. 28  
 Thyrea, I. 82  
 Tigris, I. 189, 193; H. 150  
 Timarete, H. 55  
 Timesius, I. 168  
 Tmolus, I. 84, 93  
 Tomyris, I. 205, 212, 214  
 Triopium, I. 144, 174  
 Tritaece, I. 145  
 Tritantaechmes, I. 192  
 Trois, H. 120  
 Trophonius, I. 46  
 Typhon, H. 144, 156  
 Tyre, I. 2; H. 44, 112, 161  
 Tyrrhenians, I. 57, 94, 163, 166, 167  
  
 Xanthes, H. 135  
 Xanthus, I. 176  
 Xerxes, I. 183  
  
 Zeus, *passim*.







# THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

---

VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED

---

## *Latin Authors*

- AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS. Translated by J. C. Rolfe.  
3 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. 2nd Imp. revised.)
- APULEIUS: THE GOLDEN ASS (METAMORPHOSES).  
W. Adlington (1566). Revised by S. Gaselee. (6th Imp.)
- ST. AUGUSTINE, CONFESSIONS OF. W. Watts (1634).  
2 Vols. (5th Imp.)
- ST. AUGUSTINE, SELECT LETTERS. J. H. Baxter.
- AUSONIUS. H. G. Evelyn White. 2 Vols.
- BEDE. J. E. King. 2 Vols.
- BOETHIUS: TRACTS AND DE CONSOLATIONE PHILO-  
SOPHIAE. Rev. H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand. (4th  
Imp.)
- CAESAR: CIVIL WARS. A. G. Peskett. (4th Imp.)
- CAESAR: GALLIC WAR. H. J. Edwards. (9th Imp.)
- CATO AND VARRO: DE RE RUSTICA. H. B. Ash and  
W. D. Hooper. (2nd Imp.)
- CATULLUS. F. W. Cornish; TIBULLUS. J. B. Postgate;  
AND PERVIGILIUM VENERIS. J. W. Mackail. (11th  
Imp.)
- CELSUS: DE MEDICINA. W. G. Spencer. 3 Vols. (Vol.  
I. 2nd Imp. revised.)
- CICERO: BRUTUS, AND ORATOR. G. L. Hendrickson and  
H. M. Hubbell. (2nd Imp.)
- CICERO: DE FINIBUS. H. Rackham. (3rd Imp. revised.)
- CICERO: DE NATURA DEORUM AND ACADEMICA. H.  
Rackham.
- CICERO: DE OFFICIIS. Walter Miller. (4th Imp.)
- CICERO: DE ORATORE. 2 Vols. E. W. Sutton and H.  
Rackham.
- CICERO: DE REPUBLICA AND DE LEGIBUS. Clinton  
W. Keyes. (2nd Imp.)
- CICERO: DE SENECTUTE, DE AMICITIA, DE DIVI-  
NATIONE. W. A. Falconer. (4th Imp.)
- CICERO: IN CATILINAM, PRO FLACCO, PRO MURENA,  
PRO SULLA. Louis E. Lord. (2nd Imp. revised.)

- CICERO: LETTERS TO ATTICUS. E. O. Winstedt.  
3 Vols. (Vol. I. 6th Imp., Vol. II. 3rd Imp. and Vol. III. 3rd Imp.)
- CICERO: LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS. W. Glynn Williams. 3 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. 2nd Imp. revised.)
- CICERO: PHILIPPICS. W. C. A. Ker. (2nd Imp. revised.)
- CICERO: PRO ARCHIA, POST REDITUM, DE DOMO, DE HARUSPICUM RESPONSIS, PRO PLANCIO. N. H. Watts. (2nd Imp.)
- CICERO: PRO CAECINA, PRO LEGE MANILIA, PRO CLUENTIO, PRO RABIRIO. H. Grose Hodge. (2nd Imp.)
- CICERO: PRO MILONE, IN PISONEM, PRO SCAURO, PRO FONTEIO, PRO RABIRIO POSTUMO, PRO MARCELLO, PRO LIGARIO, PRO REGE DEIOTARO. N. H. Watts.
- CICERO: PRO QUINCTIO, PRO ROSCIO AMERINO, PRO ROSCIO COMOEDO, CONTRA RULLUM. J. H. Freese. (2nd Imp. revised.)
- CICERO: TUSCULAN DISPUTATIONS. J. E. King. (2nd Imp.)
- CICERO: VERRINE ORATIONS. L. H. G. Greenwood. 2 Vols.
- CLAUDIAN. M. Platnauer. 2 Vols.
- COLUMELLA: DE RE RUSTICA. H. B. Ash. 3 Vols. Vol. I.
- FLORUS. E. S. Forster, and CORNELIUS NEPOS. J. C. Rolfe.
- FRONTINUS: STRATAGEMS AND AQUEDUCTS. C. E. Bennett and M. B. McElwain.
- FRONTO: CORRESPONDENCE. C. R. Haines. 2 Vols.
- GELLIUS. J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)
- HORACE: ODES AND EPODES. C. E. Bennett. (12th Imp. revised.)
- HORACE: SATIRES, EPISTLES, ARS POETICA. H. R. Fairclough. (6th Imp. revised.)
- JEROME: SELECTED LETTERS. F. A. Wright.
- JUVENAL AND PERSIUS. G. G. Ramsay. (6th Imp.)
- LIVY. B. O. Foster, F. G. Moore, Evan T. Sage, and A. C. Schlesinger. 13 Vols. Vols. I.-VII., IX.-XII. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vols. II., III. and IX. 2nd Imp. revised.)
- LUCAN. J. D. Duff. (2nd Imp.)
- LUCRETIUS. W. H. D. Rouse. (5th Imp. revised.)
- MARTIAL. W. C. A. Ker. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 4th Imp., Vol. II. 3rd Imp. revised.)
- MINOR LATIN POETS: from PUBLILIUS SYRUS to RUTILIUS NAMATIUS, including GRATIUS, CALPURNIUS SICULUS, NEMESIANUS, AVIANUS, and others with "Aetna" and the "Phoenix." J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff. (2nd Imp.)
- OVID: THE ART OF LOVE AND OTHER POEMS. J. H. Mozley. (2nd Imp.)
- OVID: FASTI. Sir James G. Frazer.
- OVID: HEROIDES AND AMORES. Grant Showerman. (3rd Imp.)



- OVID: METAMORPHOSES.** F. J. Miller. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 8th Imp., Vol. II. 6th Imp.)  
**OVID: TRISTIA AND EX PONTO.** A. L. Wheeler. (2nd Imp.)  
**PERSIUS.** Cf. **JUVENAL.**  
**PETRONIUS.** M. Heseltine; **SENECA: APOCOLOCYN-  
TOSIS.** W. H. D. Rouse. (7th Imp. revised.)  
**PLAUTUS.** Paul Nixon. 5 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. 4th Imp., Vol. III. 3rd Imp.)  
**PLINY: LETTERS.** Melmoth's Translation revised by W. M. L. Hutchinson. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 5th Imp., Vol. II. 4th Imp.)  
**PLINY: NATURAL HISTORY.** H. Rackham and W. H. S. Jones. 10 Vols. Vols. I.-IV. H. Rackham. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)  
**PROPERTIUS.** H. E. Butler. (5th Imp.)  
**QUINTILIAN.** H. E. Butler. 4 Vols. (2nd Imp.)  
**REMAINS OF OLD LATIN.** E. H. Warmington. 4 Vols. Vol. I. (**ENNIUS AND CAECILIUS.**) Vol. II. (**LIVIUS, NAEVIUS, PACUVIUS, ACCIUS.**) Vol. III. (**LUCILIUS AND LAWS OF XII TABLES.**) Vol. IV. (**ARCHAIC INSCRIPTIONS.**)  
**SALLUST.** J. C. Rolfe. (2nd Imp. revised.)  
**SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE.** D. Magie. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp. revised.)  
**SENECA: APOCOLOCYN-  
TOSIS.** Cf. **PETRONIUS.**  
**SENECA: EPISTULAE MORALES.** R. M. Gummere. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vols. II. and III. 2nd Imp. revised.)  
**SENECA: MORAL ESSAYS.** J. W. Basore. 3 Vols. (Vols. II. and III. 2nd Imp. revised.)  
**SENECA: TRAGEDIES.** F. J. Miller. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vol. II. 2nd Imp. revised.)  
**SIDONIUS: POEMS AND LETTERS.** W. B. Anderson. 2 Vols. Vol. I.  
**SILIUS ITALICUS.** J. D. Duff. 2 Vols. (Vol. II. 2nd Imp.)  
**STATIUS.** J. H. Mozley. 2 Vols.  
**SUETONIUS.** J. C. Rolfe. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 6th Imp., Vol. II. 5th Imp. revised.)  
**TACITUS: DIALOGUS.** Sir Wm. Peterson. **AGRICOLA AND GERMANIA.** Maurice Hutton. (5th Imp.)  
**TACITUS: HISTORIES AND ANNALS.** C. H. Moore and J. Jackson. 4 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. 2nd Imp.)  
**TÉRENCE.** John Sargeant. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 6th Imp., Vol. II. 5th Imp.)  
**TERTULLIAN: APOLOGIA AND DE SPECTACULIS.** T. R. Glover. **MINUCIUS FELIX.** G. H. Rendall.  
**VALERIUS FLACCUS.** J. H. Mozley. (2nd Imp. revised.)  
**VARRO: DE LINGUA LATINA.** R. G. Kent. 2 Vols.  
**VELLEIUS PATERCULUS AND RES GESTAE DIVI AUGUSTI.** F. W. Shipley.  
**VIRGIL.** H. R. Fairclough. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 16th Imp., Vol. II. 12th Imp. revised.)  
**VITRUVIUS: DE ARCHITECTURA.** F. Granger. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)

## Greek Authors

- ACHILLES TATIUS. S. Gaselee.  
 AENEAS TACTICUS, ASCLEPIODOTUS AND ONASANDER.  
 The Illinois Greek Club.  
 AESCHINES. C. D. Adams.  
 AESCHYLUS. H. Weir Smyth. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 5th Imp., Vol. II. 4th Imp.)  
 ANDOCIDES, ANTIPHON. Cf. MINOR ATTIC ORATORS.  
 APOLLODORUS. Sir James G. Frazer. 2 Vols. (2nd Imp.)  
 APOLLONIUS RHODIUS. R. C. Seaton. (4th Imp.)  
 THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS. Kirsopp Lake. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 6th Imp., Vol. II. 5th Imp.)  
 APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY. Horace White. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vols. II., III. and IV. 2nd Imp.)  
 ARATUS. Cf. CALLIMACHUS.  
 ARISTOPHANES. Benjamin Bickley Rogers. 3 Vols. Verse trans. (4th Imp.)  
 ARISTOTLE: ART OF RHETORIC. J. H. Freese. (2nd Imp.)  
 ARISTOTLE: ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION, EUDEMIAN ETHICS, VICES AND VIRTUES. H. Rackham. (2nd Imp.)  
 ARISTOTLE: GENERATION OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck.  
 ARISTOTLE: METAPHYSICS. H. Tredennick. 2 Vols. (2nd Imp.)  
 ARISTOTLE: MINOR WORKS. W. S. Hett. On Colours, On Things Heard, On Physiognomies, On Plants, On Marvellous Things Heard, Mechanical Problems, On Indivisible Lines, On Position and Names of Winds.  
 ARISTOTLE: NICOMACHEAN ETHICS. H. Rackham. (4th Imp. revised.)  
 ARISTOTLE: OECONOMICA AND MAGNA MORALIA. G. C. Armstrong; (with Metaphysics, Vol. II.). (2nd Imp.)  
 ARISTOTLE: ON THE HEAVENS. W. K. C. Guthrie. (2nd Imp. revised.)  
 ARISTOTLE: ON THE SOUL, PARVA NATURALIA, ON BREATH. W. S. Hett. (2nd Imp. revised.)  
 ARISTOTLE: ORGANON. H. P. Cooke and H. Tredennick. 2 Vols. Vol. I.  
 ARISTOTLE: PARTS OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck; MOTION AND PROGRESSION OF ANIMALS. E. S. Forster. (2nd Imp. revised.)  
 ARISTOTLE: PHYSICS. Rev. P. Wicksteed and F. M. Cornford. 2 Vols. (Vol. II. 2nd Imp.)  
 ARISTOTLE: POETICS AND LONGINUS. W. Hamilton Fyfe; DEMETRIUS ON STYLE. W. Rhys Roberts. (3rd Imp. revised.)  
 ARISTOTLE: POLITICS. H. Rackham. (3rd Imp. revised.)  
 ARISTOTLE: PROBLEMS. W. S. Hett. 2 Vols.  
 ARISTOTLE: RHETORICA AD ALEXANDRUM (with PROBLEMS, Vol. II.). H. Rackham.

- ARRIAN: HISTORY OF ALEXANDER AND INDICA.  
Rev. E. Iliffe Robson. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)
- ATHENAEUS: DEIPNOSOPHISTAE. C. B. Gulick. 7 Vols.  
(Vols. V. and VI. 2nd Imp.)
- ST. BASIL: LETTERS. R. J. Deferrari. 4 Vols.
- CALLIMACHUS AND LYCOPHRON. A. W. Mair; ARATUS. G. R. Mair.
- CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. Rev. G. W. Butterworth.  
(2nd Imp.)
- COLLUTHUS. CL. OPPIAN.
- DAPHNIS AND CHLOE. Thornley's Translation revised by J. M. Edmonds; AND PARTHENIUS. S. Gaselee. (3rd Imp.)
- DEMOSTHENES: DE CORONA AND DE FALSA LEGATIONE. C. A. Vince and J. H. Vince. (2nd Imp. revised.)
- DEMOSTHENES: MEIDIAS, ANDROTION, ARISTOCRATES, TIMOCRATES AND ARISTOGEITON, I. AND II. Translated by J. H. Vince.
- DEMOSTHENES: OLYNTHIACS, PHILIPPICS AND MINOR ORATIONS: I-XVII. AND XX. J. H. Vince.
- DEMOSTHENES: PRIVATE ORATIONS. A. T. Murray.  
3 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)
- DIO CASSIUS: ROMAN HISTORY. E. Cary. 9 Vols.  
(Vols. I. and II. 2nd Imp.)
- DIO CHRYSOSTOM. J. W. Cohoon and H. Lamar Crosby.  
5 Vols. Vols. I-III.
- DIODORUS SICULUS. C. H. Oldfather. 12 Vols. Vols. I-III. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)
- DIODEGENES LAERTIUS. R. D. Hicks. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vol. II. 2nd Imp.)
- DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS: ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. Spelman's translation revised by E. Cary. 7 Vols. Vols. I-V.
- EPICTETUS. W. A. Oldfather. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)
- EURIPIDES. A. S. Way. 4 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. 6th Imp., Vols. III. and IV. 5th Imp.) Verse trans.
- EUSEBIUS: ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. Kirsopp Lake and J. E. L. Oulton. 2 Vols. (Vol. II. 3rd Imp.)
- GALEN: ON THE NATURAL FACULTIES. A. J. Brock.  
(2nd Imp.)
- THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY. W. R. Paton. 5 Vols.  
(Vols. I. and II. 4th Imp., Vols. III. and IV. 2nd Imp.)
- GREEK ELEGY AND IAMBUS WITH THE ANACREONTEA. J. M. Edmonds. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)
- THE GREEK BUCOLIC POETS (THEOCRITUS, BION, MOSCHUS). J. M. Edmonds. (6th Imp. revised.)
- GREEK MATHEMATICAL WORKS. Ivor Thomas. 2 Vols.
- HERODES. Cf. THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS.
- HERODOTUS. A. D. Godley. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. 4th Imp., Vols. II-IV. 3rd Imp.)
- HESIOD AND THE HOMERIC HYMNS. H. G. Evelyn White. (6th Imp. revised and enlarged.)

- HIPPOCRATES AND THE FRAGMENTS OF HERACLEITUS.  
W. H. S. Jones and E. T. Withington. 4 Vols. (2nd Imp.)
- HOMER: ILIAD. A. T. Murray. 2 Vols. (5th Imp.)
- HOMER: ODYSSEY. A. T. Murray. 2 Vols. (6th Imp.)
- ISAEUS. E. W. Forster. (2nd Imp.)
- ISOCRATES. George Norlin. 3 Vols.
- ST. JOHN DAMASCENE: BARLAAM AND IOASAPH.  
Rev. G. R. Woodward and Harold Mattingly. (2nd Imp. revised.)
- JOSEPHUS. H. St. J. Thackeray and Ralph Marcus. 9 Vols. Vols. I.-VII. (Vol. V. 2nd Imp.)
- JULIAN. Wilmer Cave Wright. 3 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. 2nd Imp.)
- LUCIAN. A. M. Harmon. 8 Vols. Vols. I.-V. (Vols. I. and II. 3rd Imp.)
- LYCOPHRON. Cf. CALLIMACHUS.
- LYRA GRAECA. J. M. Edmonds. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. and III. 3rd Imp., Vol. II. 2nd Ed. revised and enlarged.)
- LYSIAS. W. R. M. Lamb. (2nd Imp.)
- MANETHO. W. G. Waddell: PTOLEMY: TETRABIBLOS.  
F. E. Robbins.
- MARCUS AURELIUS. C. R. Haines. (3rd Imp. revised.)
- MENANDER. F. G. Allinson. (2nd Imp. revised.)
- MINOR ATTIC ORATORS (ANTIPHON, ANDOCIDES, DEMADES, DEINARCHUS, HYPEREIDES). K. J. Maidment and J. O. Burtt. 2 Vols. Vol. I. K. J. Maidment.
- NONNOS. W. H. D. Rouse. 3 Vols. (Vol. III. 2nd Imp.)
- OPPIAN, COLLUTHUS, TRYPHIODORUS. A. W. Mair.
- PAPYRI. NON-LITERARY SELECTIONS. A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar. 2 Vols. LITERARY SELECTIONS. Vol. I. (Poetry). D. L. Page. (2nd Imp.)
- PARTHENIUS. Cf. DAPHNIS AND CHLOE.
- PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE. W. H. S. Jones. 5 Vols. and Companion Vol. (Vols. I. and III. 2nd Imp.)
- PHILO. 10 Vols. Vols. I.-V.; F. H. Colson and Rev. G. H. Whitaker. Vols. VI.-IX.; F. H. Colson. (Vol. IV. 2nd Imp.)
- PHILOSTRATUS: THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA. F. C. Conybeare. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vol. II. 2nd Imp.)
- PHILOSTRATUS: IMAGINES; CALLISTRATUS: DESCRIPTIONS. A. Fairbanks.
- PHILOSTRATUS AND EUNAPIUS: LIVES OF THE SOPHISTS. Wilmer Cave Wright.
- PINDAR. Sir J. E. Sandys. (6th Imp. revised.)
- PLATO: CHARMIDES, ALCIBIADES, HIPPARCHUS, THE LOVERS, THEAGES, MINOS AND EPINOMIS.  
W. R. M. Lamb.
- PLATO: CRATYLUS, PARMENIDES, GREATER HIPPIAS, LESSER HIPPIAS. H. N. Fowler. (3rd Imp.)



- PLATO: EUTHYPHRO, APOLOGY, CRITO, PHAEDO, PHAEDRUS. H. N. Fowler. (5th Imp.)
- PLATO: LACHES, PROTAGORAS, MENO, EUTHYDEMUS. W. R. M. Lamb. (2nd Imp. revised.)
- PLATO: LAWS. Rev. R. G. Bury. 2 Vols. (2nd Imp.)
- PLATO: LYSIS, SYMPOSIUM, GÖRGIAS. W. R. M. Lamb. (3rd Imp. revised.)
- PLATO: REPUBLIC. Paul Shorey. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vol. II. 2nd Imp.)
- PLATO: STATESMAN, PHILEBUS. H. N. Fowler; ION. W. R. M. Lamb. (3rd Imp.)
- PLATO: THEAETETUS AND SOPHIST. H. N. Fowler. (3rd Imp.)
- PLATO: TIMAEUS, CRITIAS, CLITOPHO, MENEXENUS, EPISTULAE. Rev. R. G. Bury. (2nd Imp.)
- PLUTARCH: MORALIA. 14 Vols. Vols. I.-V. F. C. Babbitt; Vol. VI. W. C. Helmbold; Vol. X. H. N. Fowler.
- PLUTARCH: THE PARALLEL LIVES. B. Perrin. 11 Vols. (Vols. I., II., III., VI., VII., and XI. 2nd Imp.)
- POLYBIUS. W. R. Paton. 6 Vols.
- PROCOPIUS: HISTORY OF THE WARS. H. B. Dewing. 7 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)
- PTOLEMY: TETRABIBLOS. Cf. MANETHO.
- QUINTUS SMYRNAEUS. A. S. Way. Verse trans. (2nd Imp.)
- SEXTUS EMPIRICUS. Rev. R. G. Bury. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)
- SOPHOCLES. F. Storr. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 7th Imp., Vol. II. 5th Imp.) Verse trans.
- STRABO: GEOGRAPHY. Horace L. Jones. 8 Vols. (Vols. I., V. and VIII. 2nd Imp.)
- THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS. J. M. Edmonds; HERODES, etc. A. D. Knox. (2nd Imp.)
- THEOPHRASTUS: ENQUIRY INTO PLANTS. Sir Arthur Hort, Bart. 2 Vols.
- THUCYDIDES. C. F. Smith. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vols. II., III. and IV. 2nd Imp. revised.)
- TRYPHIODORUS. Cf. OPPIAN.
- XENOPHON: CYROPAEDIA. Walter Miller. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp., Vol. II. 3rd Imp.)
- XENOPHON: HELLENICA, ANABASIS, APOLOGY, AND SYMPOSIUM. C. L. Brownson and O. J. Todd. 3 Vols. (Vols. I. and III. 2nd Imp., Vol. II. 3rd Imp.)
- XENOPHON: MEMORABILIA AND OECONOMICUS. E. C. Marchant. (2nd Imp.)
- XENOPHON: SCRIPTA MINORA. E. C. Marchant. (2nd Imp.)

---

## IN PREPARATION

---

### *Greek Authors*

ALCIPHRON. A. R. Benner and F. Fobes.  
ARISTOTLE: DE MUNDO. W. K. C. Guthrie.  
ARISTOTLE: HISTORY OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck.  
ARISTOTLE: METEOROLOGICA. H. P. Lee.  
DEMOSTHENES: EPISTLES, etc. N. W. and N. J. De Witt.

### *Latin Authors*

ST. AUGUSTINE: CITY OF GOD. W. H. Semple.  
[CICERO]: AD HERENNIVM. H. Caplan.  
CICERO: DE INVENTIONE, etc. H. M. Hubbell.  
CICERO: PRO SESTIO, IN VATINIVM, PRO CAELIO,  
DE PROVINCIIS CONSULARIBUS, PRO BALBO. J. H.  
Freese and R. Gardner.  
QUINTUS CURTIUS: HISTORY OF ALEXANDER. J. C.  
Rolfe.  
PRUDENTIVS. J. H. Thomson.

### *DESCRIPTIVE PROSPECTUS ON APPLICATION*

---

London  
Cambridge, Mass

WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS







**CATALOGUED.**



Vol I  
CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY,  
NEW DELHI

Issue Record.

Catalogue No. 938.03/Her/God  
Ac. 14519.

Author—Herodotus.

Title—Herodotus. Vol. I.

Borrower No.	Date of Issue	Date of Return
Dr. R. S. Gupta	28/1/72	4/12/72

*"A book that is shut is but a block"*

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY  
GOVT. OF INDIA  
Department of Archaeology  
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book  
clean and moving.